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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 262

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PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE WITHIN PARTY DISCUSSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Zhang Jianguo [1728 1696 0948]: "Is Ideological Divergence Within the Party a Reflection of Social Class Struggle?"]

[Text] Is ideological divergence within the party a reflection of social class struggle? Clarifying this question has tremendous practical significance in regard to carrying out criticism and needed struggle within the party.

First, the inner-party struggle brought about by ideological divergence within the party cannot be confused with social class struggle. Although there is, within specific bounds, a definite connection between inner-party struggle and class struggle, they are nonetheless two matters with distinct natures. The inner-party struggle of which we normally speak is the struggle brought on by divergent opinions concerning ideological, political, and organizational principles. This is basically a kind of ideological struggle, and is basically not a struggle between the enemy and ourselves, which would be a serious conflict. The total meaning of the class struggle of which Marxism speaks indicates the antagonistic contradiction and struggle between the classes in a class society with fundamentally conflicting economic interests. This is a kind of "life and death" struggle to decide "who rules whom." The party is the vanguard of the proletariat and is the highest form of proletarian class organization. This basic characteristic of the party determines that no other class exists within the party, and that certainly no exploiting class exists, and so we cannot imagine that class struggle in this basic sense still exists within the party. Nor can struggle within the party be equated with the unique form of class struggle being carried out within specific bounds in society at present. We say that the exploiting class as a class has already perished, but within specific bounds class struggle still exists. This primarily takes the form of the surviving forces of the exploiting classes continuing to carry out political, economic, and ideological sabotage. The ideological consciousness of the exploiting classes continue to corrode our society. Owing to the existence and influence of class struggle in society, under specific conditions degenerate elements and other bad elements will appear within the party, and society's counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, and other criminal elements also can penetrate the party and carry out sabotage. But these are extremely singular phenomena. Once these types are discovered within the party, they are eliminated, and since they already exceed the bounds of inner-party struggle, accordingly we cannot say that this is inner-party class struggle.

Is ideological divergence within the party a reflection of social class struggle? This concrete question requires a concrete analysis. The actual conditions of inner-party struggle make it clear that while part of the divergence is a reflection of social class struggle, the majority is a reflection of contradictions between the new and the old in society. We absolutely cannot, without analyzing matters, generalize by saying that all ideological divergence within the party is a reflection of social class struggle.

Generally, under two kinds of conditions it is clear that class struggle influences the creation of ideological divergence within the party. One condition is that the surviving forces of the exploiting classes in society still, in a thousand and one ways, have a direct influence on our party, and within the party there truly are those who are corrupted by them. Some of these people have yet to become class enemies who view socialism antagonistically, but their thinking and actions are already incompatible with the party. Within the party we must carry out a resolute struggle against them and work hard to redeem them. This component of inner-party struggle should be called a reflection of class struggle within the party. Another condition is that the ideological consciousness of the various exploiting classes--especially the bourgeoisie--frequently attacks the body of the party, seriously influencing the thinking of some party members; from this is formed the sharp antagonism within the party between proletarian consciousness and bourgeois consciousness which leads to a certain ideological divergence on and struggle over principles. And this struggle in its true nature is also a reflection of class struggle within the party. With regard to the surviving forces of the exploiting classes, and to their ideology and its influence within the party, we should not overestimate them, but neither can we be apathetic and fail to remain vigilant. We must appropriately deal with problems of inner-party struggle.

At the same time, we should be able to see that a lot of the ideological divergence within the party represents, for the most part, divergence and contradiction in ideological understanding produced among comrades in the process of struggling for the common goal of communism, and that it is basically not a serious conflict. This sort of divergence and contradiction belongs to the realm of ideological understanding, which originates in social understanding and is a major component of inner-party struggle. For example, because the subjective and objective are not in accord, subjective understanding does not match objective reality. This causes certain comrades to momentarily confuse right and wrong in certain questions, creating ideological divergence and struggle with other comrades. These kinds of antagonisms and struggle between the advanced and the backward, the correct and the mistaken, and dialectical materialism and subjective idealism are a reflection within the party of the contradictions in society between the new and the old, and they are a normal occurrence in the healthy development of the party. This situation is brought about by various factors, such as differences in individual experience, ideological levels, theoretical levels, and the angles from which problems are viewed, and is not necessarily related to the influence of class struggle. Some comrades make mistakes in their work, and some even make fairly grave mistakes. This is due primarily to subjective understanding's not corresponding to objective reality and to incorrect assessments of circumstances in society and in the party which lead to the formation of a series of mistaken notions and actions. For years now, because they have

mistakenly considered all ideological divergence within the party to be a reflection of social class struggle and have denied its origin in social understanding, some party members, including those in responsible positions in the party, have made a variety of mistakes, such as making contacts with others at will without giving proper thought to the nation, promoting others on a regular schedule, endlessly raising matters to the higher plane of principle, and labeling others in one way or another. In fact, mistakes made by comrades are caused by various subjective and objective factors which must be concretely analyzed in a spirit of seeking truth from facts. From the beginning, historical materialism has required a detailed and concrete analysis of concrete conditions. We cannot use class struggle and its influence to simplify explanations of matters basically not related to class struggle and its influence. As early as 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Antagonism and struggle between differing ideas within the party are a common occurrence and are a reflection within the party of social class contradictions and contradictions between the new and the old." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 294) This conclusion corresponds to the objective reality of inner-party ideological divergence and struggle. In a society where class struggle is a major contradiction, not all ideological divergence and struggle within the party would be a reflection of social class struggle. After socialist reform, in circumstances where class struggle is no longer a major contradiction in our society, it is even less believable that all ideological divergence and struggle within the party would be a reflection of class struggle. We must scientifically analyze the conditions of struggle within the party, correctly understand the origins of ideological divergence within the party, analyze problems in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and correctly carry out inner-party criticism and self-criticism.

9705

CS0: 4005/348

PARTY AND STATE

NATIONAL PRIDE CALLED KEY TO IMPLEMENTATION OF OPEN-DOOR POLICY

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 28 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Huan [7120 3562]: "Be Aware of Our National Pride"]

[Text] NANFANG RIBAO carried a letter conveying a funny incident, as follows: One day when He Huixian [0149 1979 8300], a physics teacher at Zhongshan University, tried to buy stamps at Baiyun airport, a salesgirl who was busy transacting business with foreign visitors intermittently stared at her with unfriendly eyes and even scolded her by saying loudly: "Please don't enter without an invitation." By then, that salesgirl had hundreds of high-denomination stamps with "paintings by Qi Baishi" on them available for selection by foreign guest visitors. But the last thing she wanted was to sell them to He Huixian and other Chinese customers. Why? She replied: "I just don't want to sell them to you. That is all." He Huixian was very angry. Taking a look at the front facade of the shop, she found there were "Chinese, do not enter" signs (not to mention whether such signs are justified). When she asked other workers there the same question, they replied: "We Chinese can buy stamps here." This proves that this farce was directed and acted out by that salesgirl alone.

After seeing the ugly, more often than not one will become nostalgic for the beautiful. This reminds me of the three-character slogan "national pride."

I often think of the three-big-black character term "national pride" embroidered on the white brocade banner covering the remains of Lu Xun on the day of his burial. What Lu Xun hated most during his lifetime was the "disgusting appearance of waiters" who bowed their head upon seeing foreigners and who stared at their own countrymen arrogantly. His militant life was full of undying patriotic zeal, strong national pride, self-confidence, and a sense of national honor. Although that salesgirl is probably professionally competent and physically fit to serve her nation, she seems to lack the "sense of pride" which is most essential to citizenship in the Chinese nation.

In this connection, I also recall a passage from the hitherto unpublished 18-paragraph manuscript by Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404], entitled "Lovely China":

"If I can survive, I will serve as a mouthpiece for China as long as I live. If I can't and if I die, I hope that a lovely flower will grow where I shed my blood or where my remains are buried. You can see this flower as something in which my spirit resides. If it waves its head in the breeze, you may regard it as a

gesture of my sincere salute to our patriotic heroes who were dedicated to the struggle for liberation of the Chinese nation."

As everyone can see, there are numerous such "flowers" growing across the vast wilderness of the Chinese nation, and there are heroes in the Orient who have stood up prominently in their midst and who are worthy of the salutation we have extended to martyrs. Is there any reason to cast doubt on this fact? The awareness that we are the masters of this land will grow whenever we hoist that five-red star flag over the Tiananmen Square, whenever we raise our heads and look at the splendid national emblem on the facade of the Great Hall of the People, or whenever we entertain celebrities from all over the world in our world-renowned tourist centers or negotiate with foreign businessmen at the Guangzhou Trade Fair. Although we are still poor today, the Chinese nation, which has given the world four major inventions, has turned over a new leaf in life. We have counted on our own industriousness and wisdom to build a new socialist life. Our lofty sense of patriotism and the greatness of our nation were further demonstrated recently when our national women's volleyball team beat representative teams from seven other nations to capture the world championship. Is there any reason to disgrace our nation, as that salesgirl did?

At this point, I must convey my admiration for He Huixian, an admiration she deserves. After being snubbed by that salesgirl, she kept her pent-up feelings bottled up in her chest for 6 months before deciding to spell them out in an article published by a socialist newspaper. The essence of her appeal is a call to preserve our national pride. She has even thoughtfully conjured up this statement as her last advice to her children when one day she approaches death. "Under every difficult condition, you should fight together with the fellow men of your motherland." He Huixian is only an inconspicuous, ordinary citizen. Her appeal indicates that a precious virtue--a strong sense of national pride still exists in the minds of our countrymen. We may call this the reincarnation of "our national soul!"

As for that salesgirl, I do not intend to take any "retaliatory action" against her on behalf of He Huixian. But I want to say that there should be no conflict of interest between the implementation of our open-door policy and the demonstration of our patriotic spirit. As a citizen of socialist China, she must learn to respect, discipline, and love herself rather than disgrace our national dignity and her own stately bearing. Of course, if permitted, I willingly and earnestly want to say this prayer to her: "Please reincarnate the soul of our nation!"

9574

CSO: 4005/392

PARTY AND STATE

WENZHOU ACTS TO RECTIFY PARTY WORK STYLE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by staff reporters Jin Miaoxin [6855 5379 2450] and Shen Limin [3082 0448 3046]: "Use the Weapons of Criticism and Self-Criticism To Solve the Problem of Weak and Lackadaisical Attitudes"]

[Text] At a recent meeting of municipal, county, ward and commune cadres, the Wenzhou party committee made use of criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to combat the weak and lackadaisical attitude displayed by those in leadership positions. At the meeting, which was held in an animated atmosphere, the participants showed enthusiasm and pledged unhesitatingly to direct their efforts toward speeding up the construction projects of the four modernizations in Wenzhou municipality.

That was the first meeting of this scale since the merging of the Wenzhou district with the municipality. In September this year, the municipal party committee, with a view to tailoring the leadership system to the needs for the joint development of the agricultural, industrial and commercial sectors and for upgrading the role which can be played by a metropolis, submitted a request to the Central Committee to merge the Wenzhou district with the Wenzhou municipality and to appoint new members of the Wenzhou municipal party committee. This meeting was convened under the auspices of the new Wenzhou party committee.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, large number of cadres and people among the masses in the cities and villages in the Wenzhou district, under the leadership of the original district and municipal party committees and party organizations at various levels, have engaged in all types of revolutionary and construction projects, with tremendous political fervor and with outstanding results. However, although the situation showed a great deal of promise, certain problems remained unsolved. These problems to a large extent have something to do with the shortcomings in the party style and the lackadaisical attitude shown by the leadership. On the basis of surveys and research, the Wenzhou municipal party committee decided to use criticism and self-criticism to combat the erosion caused by various types of political dust and dirt and political viruses, and to upgrade the fighting strength of the party.

One feature of the criticism and self-criticism campaign waged by cadres at various levels in Wenzhou municipality was that the leaders took the initiative and held themselves responsible for setting an example. At the meeting of cadres of four

different levels, the responsible comrades of the municipal party committee, citing many instances of disorganization and weakness displayed in many areas and units, drew the conclusion that "while the problem comes from below, the responsibility rests with those in leadership positions." For example, with respect to the bourgeois liberalization trend, although in the past the problem had not escaped notice and although it had aroused indignation, no serious effort was made to criticize, to educate and to wage a struggle against it. In particular, no decisive action was taken against those who had violated party discipline and the laws of the nation. Many offenses had been allowed without serious attention being paid until the problem was raised by the higher leadership organizations. By engaging in self-criticism, those in leadership positions in the municipal party committee set an example for those in leadership positions in the various counties. In the Shangtang commune, the seat of the people's government in Yangjia county, a member of the party committee known as "the bully of Shangtang" continued to engage in the sale and transportation of lumber after having been found guilty of despoiling farmland, cheating and oppressing the people and behaving in total disregard of the law. Although action against him had been contemplated, nothing was actually done because of certain pressures. It was not until an inspection team was sent by the provincial and municipal party committee to assist in work projects going on in Shangtang that he was arrested according to the law. At a discussion meeting, the standing committee of the county party committee, in seriously analyzing this typical case, came to the conclusion that it was because of the failure of the county party committee to take a strong stand that the culprit was able to engage freely in his nefarious pursuits right under the noses of the leadership. It became known that some comrades in the county party committee had had occasion to enlist his help in acquiring lumber and land for building their own houses. Some 20 leadership cadres in the county, including those with the rank of section and bureau chiefs, came to his support because they had received "favors" from him. Some units even abetted him in engaging in illegal speculation by allocating funds to him and by providing him with letters of introduction and work permits. After the case had been brought to light, the concerned leadership cadres in the county party committee felt that self-criticism was called for. One leadership cadre said with emotion, "While this man took advantage of our power, we availed ourselves of the profits we could make from him. By taking advantage of each other and by seeking personal gains, both sides have damaged the prestige of the party and the interests of the people. This is something truly regrettable!" Everybody present was determined to use this example to educate the cadres and to rectify the corrupt practices prevailing in the organizations at various levels. Although the destruction of farmland for building houses in Wenzhou county had been questioned by the ZHEJIANG RIBAO, the local authorities had failed to take action to rectify the situation. In the course of this meeting, the standing committee of the county party committee reminded those present of the criticism which had earlier been made by newspapers and those in higher leadership positions, made a conscientious effort at self-examination and pledged to put an end to such aberrations. In looking back to the situation of "stringency, relaxation, collapse and surge" which characterized the struggle against smuggling some time ago, comrades in Rui'an, Pengyang and Cangnan counties came to the conclusion that it was the result of doing things in "fits and starts" and that it was a reflection of their inability to make a determined effort to implement the instructions of the Central Committee and of their lack of effort in taking the necessary action. They thereby launched a criticism and self-criticism campaign and pledged to benefit from the lessons gained from their experience and to intensify their efforts to achieve a decisive victory in the struggle against smuggling.

Another feature of the criticism and self-criticism campaign waged by the conference of cadres of four different levels in Wenzhou municipality was the conscientious effort made to get things accomplished and to win over the people through persuasion. At the meeting, the municipal party committee distributed a set of "model materials" and "discussion materials" to the participants for discussion and criticism. Without the approval of the industrial and commercial administrative departments concerned, some comrades of the party committee of the Dajing district in Yueqing county had established the so-called "Dajing Trading Company," harbored undesirable elements and used the name of the "company" to violate laws and regulations. They were finally brought to trial in a court of law. At first, Zhou Chaobao [0719 2600 1027], secretary of the district party committee, was unrepentant. The leadership cadres in the municipality and county and the secretaries of several communes in the Dajing district confronted him with the facts of the case and explained to him that "emancipation of the mind" did not mean "letting the mind run wild," that "stimulating the economy" could not be achieved by "breaking laws and regulations" and that his major offense was in breaking the rules and regulations of the industrial and commercial administrations and in engaging in speculation and illegal practices. After being told the above, Comrade Zhou Chaobao's pustule was opened up. The comrades in Taishun and Dongtou counties also used the "unity-criticism-unity" method to enable those cadres who were guilty of one offense or another to see the error of their ways, to distinguish between what was right and what was wrong, to lay down their burden of guilt and to make a new start.

Through criticism and self-criticism, the cadres at four different levels in Wenzhou municipality further strengthened the unity of those in leadership positions. Some comrades said, "In the past, we were criticized by the masses for 'waging a struggle within the fortress instead of serving as a fortress to wage the struggle.' If all of us would engage in self-criticism and strengthen our unity and cooperation, we are certain that we can make the party organization 'a fortress for waging the struggle!'" Some leadership cadres on the municipal level suited their action to their words in rectifying corrupt practices by voluntarily giving up their homes over and above what rightfully belonged to them. The 1,000-odd leadership cadres at different levels who attended the conference also pledged to unite as one to implement the four modernizations and to dedicate themselves to the various tasks waiting to be done in Wenzhou.

9621

CSO: 4005/353

LEADERS MUST SET EXAMPLE IN CORRECTING PARTY STYLE

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] As reported by this paper today, the party committee of the Wuhan Hardware Industrial Company, citing the abuse of such special privileges as the use of automobiles and the allocation of food and housing, called on members of the committee to take it upon themselves to establish a correct party style. Although there are those who regard such matters as of minor importance, the action taken by the party committee substantiates the fact that it is only when those in leadership positions set a personal example that they can speak with authority and that their words can be put into action. The concrete example offered by this company makes clear once again that, to do away with undesirable social practices, it is imperative that the party style should be corrected and that it is those in leadership positions who hold the key to the solution of the problem.

The leadership cadres of our party at various levels are outstanding representatives of the people and the masses and are the mainstays of the party. Every word uttered and every action taken by leadership cadres serves as an example for the people and the masses. Through their words and action during the long revolutionary struggle, the older generation of revolutionaries established the fine tradition of first overcoming difficulties before thinking of pleasure, charging ahead instead of beating a retreat, making heavy demands on themselves while adopting a magnanimous attitude toward others and setting a personal example for others to follow, thus creating an admirable tradition for the party and a new climate for a whole new generation. However, as a result of the serious impairment of the party style caused by the counter revolutionary clique led by Lin Biao and Jiangqing and the abuse of power by people in leadership positions, there are those who have become so bold that they think nothing of engaging in corrupt practices. Up to the present, there has been no basic improvement in the social climate and the social order primarily because there has been no basic improvement in the party style. If people in leadership positions at various levels would only take the lead and set a personal example in rectifying the party style, there is no doubt that they can bring about a better party style and a better social climate.

Thus, those in leadership positions at various levels must first of all come to a better understanding of the importance of rectifying the party style and of raising the level of their self-awareness. At a meeting to discuss the work of evaluating party theories, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "at a time when vast historical changes are taking place, when problems are piling up like a mountain and a hundred neglected matters are waiting to be attended to, the rectification of the party style is of critical importance." Under the difficult circumstances at the present time, if party members, especially cadres in leadership positions, should

take as their motto "The question of the style of the ruling party is a matter of life and death to the party," search their own souls and remain alert to the sounding of the warning bell.

Furthermore, leadership cadres must take to heart the principle that "to correct other people, it is first necessary to correct oneself" and take the lead in rectifying the party style little by little and step by step. Those in leadership positions must constantly bear in mind that "teaching by setting a personal example is more effective than teaching by talking." A hundred dozen high-sounding exhortations are not as effective as one single piece of meaningful action. It is better to set a personal example than to shout oneself hoarse in exhorting other people. In setting a personal example, those in leadership positions must, first of all, rectify their political and ideological style, revivify their revolutionary spirit, set an example in implementing the line, the policy and the principle of the party, show an attitude of responsibility in their work, improve their work efficiency, and engage in criticism and self-criticism. At the same time, it is also necessary that they should subject themselves to strict discipline in the economic area and in their way of living. If leadership cadres would set a personal example and take the lead, their orders would be obeyed even if they do not utter a single word and they would be much more persuasive in seeking to influence other people.

In order to rectify the party style, leadership cadres must also be prepared to hold on to their principles and to wage a struggle against all kinds of corrupt practices. It is not sufficient that they abide by the moral code themselves. They must not be afraid to deal with contradictions, fail to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong or to dispense reward and punishment in a just manner. More important still, they must not resort to appeasement or compromise, show favoritism, come to the defense of undeserving parties or give the green light to those guilty of corrupt practices. The state of weakness and disorganization presently shown by some party units on the question of rectifying the party style has resulted in an absence of a sense of rectitude, the proliferation of corrupt practices and the isolation of those who firmly adhere to the party line, who totally dedicate themselves to their work and who are not afraid to speak the truth and to wage a struggle against corrupt practices. We must rectify this extremely deplorable situation.

The party style can certainly be corrected if those in leadership positions would adopt a correct work style, an unbending attitude and proceed in the right direction one step at a time.

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CSO: 4005/336

PARTY AND STATE

CONFERENCE SCORES PARTY WEAKNESSES AND WORK STYLE

Wuhan GHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] At a conference to discuss the work of party discipline inspection held on 29 October to 1 November, the Wuhan party committee called on the participants to heed the instructions issued by leadership comrades in the Central Committee on the question of the party style and, in the spirit of the conference on the work of party discipline inspection held by the Central Discipline Commission and the Wuhan Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, to attach greater importance to the question of the party style, to clearly understand the major function of discipline inspection work, to further strengthen their confidence in the work of discipline inspection and to wage a struggle to bring about a basic improvement in the party style in our city.

It was agreed at the conference that, since the promulgation of the "principles," the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at various levels in our city have done a great deal of work with good results, particularly in the investigation and handling of a number of cases of an economic nature in recent months. However, from various points of view, it can be said that there has been no basic change for the better in the party style. In fact, undesirable tendencies continue to exist in the political, ideological as well as the economic areas.

First, some party members and cadres have failed to implement conscientiously the party line, the party policies and the party principles since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to stand up to and to oppose the prevalent tendency in society to shake off party leadership and to engage in conduct unbecoming the four basic principles. In not a few units and departments, corrupt practices run rampant and those who firmly adhere to the party line, who throw themselves wholeheartedly into their work, who are not afraid to speak out in a forthright manner, and who commit themselves totally to the struggle against corrupt practices are being isolated. This situation must be rectified and not be allowed to continue.

Secondly, corrupt practices have assumed alarming proportions in the economic sector. There are those who are guilty of bureaucratic practices in the area of economic administration and those who have shown a lack of responsibility in their work, causing financial losses and wastage to the state and collectives. Some, taking advantage of "connections," are guilty of offering and accepting bribes. Some keep part of the profit for themselves or use it to pay others at their own whim. Some resort to smuggling and illegal currency transactions while engaged in business dealings with foreign commercial firms to the detriment of their own good name and that of the nation. Some resort to tax fraud and tax evasion. Some accede to the

demand on the part of some among the masses to use ingenious means to give out bonuses and payments in kind, and some even resort to corruption, thievery, speculation and other irregularities.

Thirdly, some leadership organizations display a lack of spirit, indulge in bureaucratism, subjectivism and procrastination, take an irresponsible attitude and fail to put their hearts in the accomplishment of difficult tasks. They are slow in taking a situation in hand. Lacking in understanding, they fail to see what is before their eyes and to comprehend what goes in their ears. They appease their superiors by discharging their responsibilities in a perfunctory manner and make all kinds of excuses for failing to carry out orders. They show no dedication to their work, are adept at procrastination, allow problems to drag on unresolved, and are practices in "passing the buck." They are disorganized and do not study or discuss problems of major importance. When rules and regulations are violated by their departments and units, instead of investigating into the circumstances and dealing with the situation, they take the easy way out by belittling or ignoring the offense. They seek to accommodate the cadres who have committed errors and use all kinds of excuses to condone and defend the guilty parties.

It was pointed out at the conference that a number of factors are responsible for the fact that some departments and units are lax in tackling the problem of the party style and that they are weak and disorganized. First, the entire membership of the party, especially those in important leadership positions, have yet to attach sufficient importance to the question of the party style. Secondly, lacking a correct understanding of the relationship between strictly adhering to party discipline and showing concern for and a protective attitude toward the cadres, they cannot reconcile the issuing of a reprimand with the showing of a caring attitude toward the cadres. Thirdly, they are concerned that the creation of bad feelings between them and the cadres would redound to their own disadvantage. Fourthly, they are afraid of risking the displeasure of the cadres' powerful backers. Fifthly, they are remiss in upholding in a steadfast manner the party's system of democratic centralism. Some members of the party committee often fail to come up with a decision if one single person voices a dissent with the result that some problems remain unsolved over a long period of time. The city party committee, which must be held responsible for not tackling the problem with dedication, has committed itself to the task of dealing with the weak and disorganized situation and to find answers to certain problems regarding the party style within the year.

The conference called on party committees and discipline inspection commissions at various levels to heed the instructions of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. First, they are to continue their efforts to implement the "principles," to strengthen political ideological work and to wage a struggle against those who, by their words and action, have violated the four basic principles and to give top priority to the enforcement of political discipline. Secondly, they are to rectify corrupt practices in the economic sector. They must deal severely with those who are guilty of corruption and larceny, who offer and accept bribes and who seek to undermine socialism. Those who are guilty of economic offenses must be made to pay restitutions. Those who violate party and political discipline and who break the law must be severely dealt with instead of being appeased and accommodated. Severe punishment must be meted out to those leadership cadres who connive with, give protection to or are the accomplices of those who are guilty of misconduct. Thirdly, they are to strengthen the establishment of discipline inspection commissions at various levels are to deal with serious cases involving the party style in their units or departments and to seek to bring about a basic change for the better.

PARTY AND STATE

CREATING ATMOSPHERE FOR CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM URGED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Ren Yun [0117 0061] in 'DANG YUAN LUN TAN' [Party Members Forum 7825 0765 6158 1086]: "Creating an Atmosphere in Which People Dare To Speak Out"]

[Text] Some people say that it is all right to engage in self-criticism, but difficult to criticize others. This statement is probably only partially correct. If it were truly so, then such self-criticism would be only perfunctory, avoiding the important and dwelling on the trivial. We often avoid speaking about problems, which are truly, truly deep in our minds or are real scars on our own bodies; we are especially afraid that others will seize upon them. Once others talk about our problems, then we become annoyed. Actually, those who are capable of self-criticism generally are also able to properly handle criticism from others. This is especially true for leading party cadres.

Nevertheless, for many years due to the calamities wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who on the slightest pretext would seize upon someone's mistakes and come down with a big stick on him, or even "step on him," the traditional work style of criticism and self-criticism was severely damaged. The result is that even now certain units and departments find it difficult to carry out criticism.

Some people say that criticism is truly difficult. If we were to criticize leaders above us we would be afraid that they would "put us into a tight situation"; if we were to criticize cadres at the same level we would fear being called "poor fellow workers"; and if we were to criticize those below us we would fear "losing their votes." Are these "three fears" correct? Of course not. These "three fears," to put it bluntly, are nothing more than fear of coping with reality, and fear of losing votes. Let me ask: If we have such fears, why is it that we don't seem to fear damaging the people's welfare and the party's principles? Why is it that we don't realize that by passively watching a comrade commit mistakes without helping him, we end up permitting him to continue with his mistakes until he commits a major blunder? Isn't this mentality caused by individualistic concerns over personal gains and losses? If we correctly take the stand of the people and the party, and if we really care for our comrades, then we should dare to carry out criticism of our comrades' mistakes, including engaging in necessary struggle, in order to help our comrades recognize and correct their mistakes.

A thoroughgoing materialist is dauntless. Our party has always advocated the spirit of the "five no fears," which are: 1) don't be afraid of being discharged; 2) don't be afraid of being expelled from the party; 3) don't be afraid of being divorced from your spouse; 4) don't be afraid of being put in jail; and 5) don't be afraid of being executed. Naturally these are the extremes. "He who fears not being cut into pieces dares to unhorse the emperor." During our country's feudal period there were yet hard-boned types such as Hai Rui who dared to offend the emperor by giving him straightforward advice. There is no reason we, proletarian revolutionaries, should be afraid of speaking out or sacrifice ourselves for the benefit of our party and our people.

However, on the other hand, if we wish people to practice the "five no fears," then we must create an environment permitting them to speak out. This calls upon party cadres first of all to have the spirit of self-criticism. They should sincerely carry through the "three don'ts," develop a democratic work style, accept criticism and scrutiny of the masses with an open mind, and especially encourage and support criticism from their subordinates. This is a crucial element of promoting democracy within the party. When such an environment is created, criticism and self-criticism will certainly be correctly carried out.

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CSO: 4005/233

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY URGED TO ENCOURAGE PRAISE AS WELL AS CRITICISM

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Xie Baicheng [6200 4102 2052] and Jin Zhengjian [6855 2973 7003] in 'QUN YAN TANG' [5028 6056 1016 The Masses' Forum]: "We Should Also Advocate Praise"]

[Text] Recently people have begun to pay attention to criticizing unhealthy tendencies. However some comrades have not paid much attention to praising advanced models and when they do so it is not with much conviction and forcefulness. For example, some unit leaders are oblivious to models under their own noses, and they give good people and good deeds no promotion, publicity or encouragement. Some units for the sake of "balanced relationships" even failed to single out advanced models. As a result, the initiative of the masses is held back and their work always lags behind.

This tendency also is a symptom of weakness and laxness in ideological work. This is mainly due to the apprehensions of leading cadres: they are afraid that if they praise a certain individual, then someone else may not be convinced and may begin to gossip and be disgruntled; they fear that if problems arise with their models, they themselves will have to take the blame, and so on. They will plant neither thorns nor flowers, and thus they avoid creating problems. Such mentality is inappropriate for our present situation and for the duties which we shoulder.

Praising the advanced and using advanced models to promote the overall situation is a work method and a leadership art persistently advocated by Chairman Mao. It is also an important technique for bringing positive elements into play. Wise leaders, in addition to "having the whole situation in mind," always have "models at their fingertips." Because advanced models are the banners which lead the way, "by lighting a single lamp" one can "illuminate a whole area."

Furthermore, praise and criticism are complementary to each other. If we say that not to criticize is not to distinguish between right and wrong, then not to praise is not to distinguish between excellence and inferiority. Therefore there will be no differentiation in the quantity and quality of one's work. The inevitable outcome is a pool of stagnant water. Praise is not merely an encouragement to the advanced, it is also a spur to those who are content with the status quo and to those who do not seek to move forward; moreover, it is an indirect criticism to

those who lag behind. Under the same conditions, why is it that someone can do well whereas you can not? By comparing and questioning, one sees the disparities. The average person will be stimulated to advance; the one trailing behind will be spurred to catch up, thereby creating the lively situation of one horse taking the lead and ten thousand horses galloping ahead at full speed.

Daring to praise the advanced hinges on the leadership. Leading cadres need only to act in the public spirit and be unafraid of the clamor and risks; they need only seek truth from facts. The models they support will live up to their expectation and pass the test of time.

Forthright praise of the advanced is a forceful ideological weapon in our political-ideological work, and each of our leading cadres and political cadres should positively grasp this weapon. At present, in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, we must pay special attention to publicizing those advanced models who practice the party line, who work hard, and who are highly effective. We should also give publicity to those model individuals who persevere in the four basic principles, dare to struggle with mistaken political views, and rectify evil influences. Toward those few people who are jealous, and who ridicule and pick on the mistakes of advanced individuals, we should engage them in serious education through criticism in order to form a fine atmosphere in which everyone emulates the advanced, catches up with the advanced, and fights for advances.

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PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO INSTITUTIONALIZE EDUCATION IN FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Bao Yaofa [0545 5069 3127] and Xiang Youwei [7309 0645 3555]: "Education in 'Four Upholds' Must Be Institutionalized, and Conducted Regularly and in Concrete Terms"]

[Text] From beginning to end, the "Resolution on Certain Questions Concerning the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is pervaded with emphasis on the four basic principles. It states: "The four basic principles constitute a common basis for the entire party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to achieve unity, as well as a fundamental guarantee for success in developing the socialist modernization program. All statements and behavior that deviate from the four basic principles are wrong. Statements and behavior that negate and undermine the four basic principles cannot be tolerated." This statement is very impressive. Facts about education in the "four upholds" conducted by plants in Wuxi Municipality over the past 2 years show that whenever they came to firm grips with education in the "four upholds," they were able to achieve ideological unanimity better than ever, a healthy air would prevail, and they could make progress in their work. Otherwise, ideological problems among the cadres and workers would tend to exacerbate, an evil wind would gain the upper hand and, production and other work would suffer. Then, what ways can be devised to deepen education in the "four upholds" in a sustained way, institutionalize it, and carry it out regularly, vividly, and graphically? Findings from experiments in this field can be summarized into the following points:

[1] As a step toward institutionalizing education in the "four upholds," plans should be worked out to educate workers in Marxist-Leninist theory and to offer them basic courses in the recent history of China and the history of the party.

In accordance with Lenin's teaching on "educating" workers in socialism, education in the "four upholds" calls for plans and measures to systematically convey basic knowledge to them. Only after the broad masses of workers have acquired basic theoretical and historical knowledge can they gradually raise their awareness of the "four upholds." Since last year, many plants throughout the municipality have offered cadres and workers basic courses in economics in a well-planned way through the holding of training in rotation, on-the-job and sparetime study classes, and theoretical forums. In the end, they have deepened their understanding of the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session

of the 11th Party Central Committee, and have become more determined than ever to follow the socialist path. The courses in the recent history of China and the history of the party are mainly designed to "acquaint youths with history" and to improve their knowledge of history. Since last year, textile mills in Wuxi Municipality have educated young workers about the treaties of national betrayal signed by China since the Opium War, and have explained to them how China was reduced to a miserable semicolonial and semifeudal status during the past century. The aim is to lead them to know the recent history of China and the history of the party and to understand that without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China, and that only socialism can save China. In the past, those youths who did not know history often became disillusioned with life and considered education offered by old workers to be unconvincing. Today, they say from the bottom of their hearts: "We had taken our present happy life for granted. Without the Communist Party, we would have suffered as our parents did before us."

[2] Regular education in the "four upholds" calls for studying important documents and publicizing major events.

Education in the four basic principles must embody the study and implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies in conjunction with the Central Committee's important documents and the major events in political and economic life. Early this year, in the course of centering their efforts on implementing the guidelines of the Central Work Conference held in December 1980, and in response to the erroneous notion harbored by some workers that the party's current policies adopted since the Third Plenum represented a deviation from the correct path to the right, many plants led these workers to reason things out and to distinguish right from wrong through a study of relevant documents and the current situation. They also led the workers to understand that the series of lines, principles, and policies adopted by the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenum are correct, and that with the party's basic policy remaining unchanged, its specific policies must be subjected to changes in their implementation until they become perfect, and this flexibility is compatible with socialist principles. This has led them to become more determined than ever to follow the socialist course. Since the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, many plants have mounted campaigns to study the "Historical Resolution" as the best teaching material on the "four upholds" and have sponsored training in rotation, given lectures, and offered other forms of instruction in order to make this extensive propaganda and education program a success. For example, plants under the municipal bureau of chemical engineering have concentrated on "establishing the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought" as a central issue of study. In doing so, they have organized cadres and workers to discuss at great lengths such topics as what Mao Zedong Thought means and how it grew and developed in conjunction with what they really had in mind. In this way, they have come to understand that Mao Zedong Thought cannot be viewed as the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong alone, and that a clear distinction must be drawn between the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and Mao Zedong Thought. Finally, the idea that Mao Zedong Thought should forever be regarded as our party's guiding ideology prevailed. As a result of a review and free discussion of the history of the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, organized by plants under the municipal bureau of machine-building industry

in connection with a forum focusing on the "superiority of the socialist system," workers have deepened their understanding of this system.

[3] Education in the "four upholds" must take a vivid, lively, and attractive form and must embody audiovisual education.

Comparable education which leads people to take note of differences through comparison is a good method for enhancing education in the "four upholds." Last year, the Wuxi Wire and Cable Plant faced questions raised by its workers such as: Why does our country, under a superior socialist system, lag behind others (meaning capitalist countries)? Why do our standards of living fall behind others, and why can't we enjoy more democracy than they do? In accordance with a policy that emphasizes reasoning and persuasion, this plant adopted comparable education with well-defined objectives in mind. For example, it countered the idea that we have lagged behind others in terms of development with a comparison that covers "30 years" or "300 years"; it countered the idea that our standards of living are lower than others with a comparison between the two different systems; and it countered the idea that we enjoy less democracy than others by comparing genuine and sham democracies. Such comparisons have led them to understand that developments cannot be rated without taking into account the economic base and the historical background; standards of living cannot be evaluated without taking into account our status as masters of our own country; observations of democracy and freedom must depend on the nature of the social system. In the end, they achieved a correct understanding of the nature of socialism and capitalism and strengthened their conviction to take the socialist path. The Wuxi Silk Filature Mill has produced better results in educating young workers in the history of the party in much the same way as a storyteller would do. A special force has been organized by its party committee to present, in story form, lectures on the five different historical periods of the party's growth. In the course of presenting the lectures on the history of the party and arguing the case, it has suggested that at the end of its delivery, each story should be discussed in an organized way, and in the course of the discussion efforts should be made to solve particular problems in connection with actual situations. Meanwhile, the plant has adopted the following methods for this form of education: 1) It has accompanied lectures on the history of the party with stories about struggles waged by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. 2) It has coupled the lectures on the history of the party with film stories about revolutionary struggles. 3) It has combined lectures on the history of the party with stories about model figures who have emerged since the birth of new China. Commenting on such lectures, young workers said unanimously that lectures on the history of the party that are presented in such a fresh and lively manner and in such concrete and impressive terms can be easily understood and memorized by them and can take a deep root in their minds. Some plants have mobilized workers to develop "love the motherland, love factories, and love work" activities along with campaigns to "make contributions to the four modernizations program" and to "win the honor of shock workers on the new long march," so that they can translate their consciousness of love for their socialist motherland into solid action and can serve it well in their present posts. Some units have organized party members to broaden the activity to bring additional grace and honor to the image of the party. After restudying the oath they took when they were sworn in as party members, and after reviewing what they have accomplished, they have consciously rectified unhealthy styles of work and have taken the initiative to serve the masses and strengthen the ties between the party and the masses.

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS NEED CREATIVITY, INITIATIVE, DISCIPLINE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 31 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Xin Chun and Jin Xi [6580 2504 and 6930 3556]: "Discipline Strict and Clear, Full of Vigor and Vitality"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee drew clear conclusions about questions of the past, and we have all the great political principles for carrying out construction of the four socialist modernizations. At present, the important thing is to arouse our spirits, work soundly, and improve the economy, while at the same time constructing a socialist spiritual civilization. To this end, we must firmly maintain the unity of creativity and discipline. Only in this way can we advance with vigor and vitality and successfully scale the "heights of the Jade Emperor."

The purpose of the proletarian party in power establishing strict discipline lies in guaranteeing the unity of the party, consolidating the connections between the party and the masses, thoroughly implementing the line, principles, and policies of the party, and victoriously completing the central tasks at every stage. Lenin once said that the basic reasons why the newborn Soviet regime was able to defeat its fierce, tenacious enemies and accomplish an historic miracle "lay in the centralized system, in discipline, and in an unprecedented spirit of self-sacrifice." Today, we want to build a strong, modern, socialist nation. This is a tremendous task never accomplished by those who came before us, and will be a wide-spread and profound revolution requiring the strong leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Strict inner-party life and strong organizational discipline on the part of party members constitute a forceful guarantee that the unified will and unified action of the entire party will be achieved and that our core leadership role will be developed fully. Just as Marx and Engels pointed out in criticizing the tide of anarchism, a party in power must have a united and directed will and must maintain absolute party discipline, or else it can accomplish nothing.

Strictly adhering to the rules and regulations of the party, of course, does not mean blindly and mechanically implementing directives from superiors, but rather it should mean intimately coordinating the specific conditions in one's prefecture, department, and unit and, beginning from these actual situations, creatively carrying out the directives of superiors. The reasoning behind this is quite simple. It is because our cause is a whole, because we have a united struggle objective, because our nation has a vast territory with widely differing situations

and where the work development has been uneven, and because, in the new historical period, various new situations will appear. This requires that one be good at summarizing both the positive and the negative experiences of one's prefecture, department, and unit in accordance with the principles of the Party Central Committee, that one carry out systematic and detailed survey research, clarify conditions, and seriously combine the directives of the Central Committee with the reality of one's prefecture and department, and that one set the vigorous and effective people's organizations to work solving the actual problems involved in construction of the four modernizations. Only this can be called highly effective and seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong early on criticized the formalistic attitude of purely carrying out the ideas of "superiors" without regard to actual conditions, pointing out that "it is a most marvelous method of opposing or slowing down the implementation of the directives of superiors." We must take this as a prohibition.

If we want to combine the principles and policies of the Central Committee with the specific conditions of our prefectures, departments, and units, then the broad party members must fully develop their initiative and creativity. After the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Committee raised four points with the localities. They were: localities can think of things that the Central Committee has not thought of; if localities see the opportunity, they can act even though the Central Committee has not directed them to act; if what the Central Committee says is not suited to local conditions, the localities can make adjustments in dealing with matters; if the Central Committee is mistaken in its decisions, the localities can contest them. The spirit of these four points also applies in principle to the way lower levels handle directives and resolutions from those above. These four words: "think," "act," "adjust," and "contest" state in lively form the initiative and creativity that a Communist Party member should have. Of course, according to organizational principles, these points must all be reported to superiors or to the Central Committee in order to seek further instructions. This is the organizational discipline of the party. We want to unite the development of initiative and creativity with strict organizational discipline on the principle of consciously executed democratic centralism. In party meetings, every party member can fully express his opinions, including matters that superiors have not considered and possibly mistaken decisions made by superiors. All of these can be discussed if one wishes, but one cannot simply say whatever one would like to say or do whatever one would like to do. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Inner-party democracy is supposed to be for the purpose of consolidating discipline and strengthening our fighting capacity, and not to weaken this discipline and fighting capacity." Some matters, in terms of parts of the whole, are permissible, but in terms of the whole itself they are not permissible. This is a matter of taking care of the overall situation and serving the whole. Reporting to and seeking instructions from superiors is an excellent way to solve this problem. Still, in some matters, when time is pressing and one must make a decision immediately but there are two opinions or plans being argued and no one wishes to yield, one should report to and seek instructions from higher levels so that an early decision can be reached and rapid action taken. We can see that the purpose of reporting to and seeking instructions from superiors is to amass correct opinions and request that the superiors provide directions in a timely fashion, establishing for us a complete, overall picture so that work can be done even better. Of course, if we lose the spirit of independence and

responsibility and forget our system of collective leadership and shared work responsibility, if matters are not analyzed in detail, if everything is reported to superiors in seeking instructions, and if no one takes charge of anything, then we are just stumbling over our own feet.

We want to build advanced socialist material and spiritual civilizations. Without a large group of reformers and men of action who dare to think and act and who lead the masses in struggle, this incomparably glorious task cannot be completed. On just this foundation, the Party Central Committee once again has emphasized that the most basic component of the party's leadership of national life is organizing and supporting the people as masters of the house in building a new socialist life. We engage in creative work basically for the benefit of the people in order to rely closely on the masses, to ceaselessly probe what is not yet understood in the realm of necessity, and actively to remake the world. But a correct understanding cannot come about in a moment's time. If we do not allow people in the course of exploration to travel winding roads and to run into problems on their own, then this is tantamount to negating initiative and creativity itself. Therefore, it is difficult to avoid traveling winding roads and running into problems in the course of working creatively. But by adopting the dialectical materialist standpoint of "upholding truth and correcting mistakes," traveling winding roads and running into problems will become a source of wealth. We don't know how many times better it is to have such people than to have those who do not use their heads and who waste their days doing nothing. Of course, this requires that we work hard, study diligently and, as far as possible, place our work on a scientific track and fight for new discoveries and creations in the course of the construction of socialist modernization.

We should point out that at present there are some comrades who are extremely particular about ensuring numerical factors in their work. They seek stability in all matters, fear only innovation, do not "think," "act," "adjust," and "contest," but rather "postpone," "rely," "desire," and "wait." We understand that one of the reasons for this attitude of having something to say but stumbling over the words and wanting to move but stumbling instead is "the experience of many years that the rafter that protrudes is the first to crumble." These words contain a certain amount of bitterness from the past, but present circumstances are basically different from those of the past. Our party has already correctly summarized both the positive and the negative lessons of the past and established the correct line, principles, and policies. We have already clearly indicated that for all problems within the party and the ranks of the people which do not fall within the scope of class struggle, we must adopt methods different from those used in the case of class struggle, in order to find solutions. Under no circumstances will we allow a chaotic situation along the lines of the "Great Cultural Revolution" to occur again. As for our criticizing in appropriate measure mistakes and shortcomings, this stems from our loving concern for our cadres. For a Communist Party member, sworn to struggle all his life for communism, can there be any ideas that are ill suited to the needs of the people that he would be unwilling to give up? Can there be any reason for not actively and realistically taking the initiative in action?

The developing of initiative and creativity and the strengthening of organizational character and discipline should be combined in a Communist Party member and can be completely united. Herein lies the party character of a Communist Party member. The characteristics indicative of acting with a proletarian party character are seeking truth from facts and having a dialectical materialist world view. Only by establishing such understanding and such party character can the development of initiative and creativity and the strengthening of organizational character and discipline be united.

Having strict and clear discipline and being full of vigor and vitality are the historic wellsprings of the fighting capacity of our party. Today we are carrying out the construction of socialist modernization--a task which is complex and full of difficulties. It especially requires that we combine a vigorous creative spirit and truly iron discipline in order to guarantee victorious progress in our great task.

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CSO; 4005/334

PARTY AND STATE

LARGE-SCALE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS SAID NO SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 7, 20 Sep 81 p 8

[Article by Yin Guoan [3009 0948 1344] and Jiang Zhenggao [1203 2973 7559]: "Is It Another Political Campaign?"]

[Text] After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made the decision to shift the focus of work, our party resolutely ceased using the slogan "Take class struggle as the key link" and terminated the former large-scale mass "political campaigns" which took "class struggle" as the substance. But recently we have often heard people saying that "there will be more political campaigns." The "basis" for this kind of talk is that criticism is being conducted against bourgeois liberalization on the ideological front, a struggle is being vigorously waged against incorrect workstyles within the party and in economic fields, and a handful of criminals have been severely and quickly punished. All these are necessary measures which should be taken to uphold the four basic principles, maintain political stability and safeguard the smooth progress of socialist modernization. There is nothing in common here with those manmade, and enlarged "political campaigns" which would do harm to the four modernizations. Why should people talk about "another political campaign"?

Our study shows that such talk generally comes from the following three kinds of people:

First, some people find themselves in trouble and hope to see no movements of any kind. When they heard that "there will be no more movements," they began to think that in the future they could be free and unrestrained, and could do anything they wished. "Since no movement will come about, what can they do to me?" Therefore, they have become increasingly bold in doing wrong and even bad things. Indeed, nothing was done to them during those "movements" in the past, and at present no movement is being launched; there is only some criticism and struggle, but this hits their sore spot and harms their personal interests. Therefore, they are full of grievances and talk resentfully about "another political campaign," hinting that our party is going back on its word. They confuse the correct measures taken by our party to uphold the four basic principles with those "political movements" of the past, in order to take "no more movements" as their "protective talisman."

Second, some people earned "a living from political movements" for many years, and they became aware of the benefits of such "movements" in the past from actually receiving such benefits. They suffer from the chronic and stubborn ailment of leftist deviation and are prone to look for signs of disturbance from the "left" side. They always doubt and even oppose the strategic decisions of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and believe that eventually the time again will come "to take class struggle as the key link." When they see that we are paying serious attention to the struggle against liberalization and incorrect styles of work, as well as against criminal acts, they immediately think of "another political campaign" and also wish to "fully display their talents" in this "political movement."

Third, some people have a lot of complaints about the tendency toward liberalization, feel very disgusted with incorrect styles of work, and bitterly hate all criminal acts. They have long hoped that the central authorities would decide to tackle this problem; however, they failed to recognize correctly the real cause for the occurrence of such cases, and therefore they could not find the proper means to solve the problem. They wrongly thought that it was "no more movements" which had brought about liberalization and incorrect workstyles, and they had no faith that the problem could be solved by means of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and by means of party discipline and law. As far as these comrades could see, "it is necessary to launch a political campaign" to solve this problem.

When the above three kinds of people say that "another political campaign is coming," they have different purposes, meanings, and sentiments. They do have one thing in common, however, and that is: they misinterpret the decisions made by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and misunderstand the series of correct measures taken by our party to uphold the four basic principles.

The decisions of the Third Plenary Session do not contradict the series of measures [being taken] at present to criticize liberalization, oppose incorrect styles of work, and crack down on criminal activities. Those manmade, enlarged "political campaigns" of the past did great harm to socialist construction and made us suffer severely. We certainly cannot afford to go through the same suffering again. We will have no more such "movements" in order to truly shift the focus of our work and safeguard the smooth progress of the four modernizations. Some people indiscriminately avoid as a taboo the word "movement," disregarding whether it is beneficial to the four modernizations. They have even changed the name of the "patriotic health movement" to an "activity." In essence, they have not correctly understood the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The fact that we will not launch any more political movements like those of the past certainly does not mean that we will allow the tendency toward liberalization in opposition to the four basic principles to spread unchecked, that we will shut our eyes to such incorrect styles of work and undermine our party's fine tradition, or that we will be indifferent to criminal acts which disrupt the four modernizations. To uphold the four basic principles, it is extremely necessary to criticize and combat all kinds of wrong trends and bad phenomena. Of course, in criticizing and combating them, we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and, according to

the requirements of political life within our party and the procedure laid down in the Constitution and in law, adopt proper measures to solve any and all problems. All these [measures] are poles asunder from those "political campaigns" which confuse us and the enemy and turn things upside down.

Some comrades argue that to solve problems of liberalization and incorrect styles of work, "we simply must launch campaigns." This is a muddled idea. We should know that objective things are complex and concrete. We cannot solve all concrete problems by "taking the same approach toward them all." Even on some general issues, it is not proper to raise a hue and cry and launch a "mass movement." Facts have proved that in those years in the past when political campaigns never ceased, no problems were really solved but, on the contrary, they all piled up without resolution. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, although we have not launched any particular campaign, we have solved many problems in a down-to-earth manner by means of correct policies and methods. It is thus clear that in order to eliminate all obstacles to the cause of the four modernizations, we certainly need not rely on political movements. By launching massive political campaigns [as we did] the past, we would only create confusion in our ranks and disperse our energy in achieving the four modernizations. It would not, in the slightest degree, help resolve any problems.

In a word, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made the correct decision to shift the focus of work. Recently our party has also carried out necessary struggles on all fronts to uphold the four basic principles. The talk about "launching further political campaigns" has no foundation. We must seriously study the spirit of the Third and Sixth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee, truly identify our understanding with the Party Central Committee, and keep in step to win new victories of socialist revolution and construction.

9039

CSO: 4005/245

PARTY AND STATE

UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES DEEMED CERTAIN OF RECTIFICATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "There Is No Doubt Unhealthy Tendencies Can Be Rectified"]

[Text] Recently, the party committee and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in Xinhui county dealt severely with the case of Comrade Zhang Yongshu [1728 3059 2873] who was found guilty of taking advantage of his position to make personal gains by illegally building a "garden villa" for himself. The whole case, which took only two months to settle, was dealt with at a speed seldom seen in recent years. This incident serves to prove that the party has the capability to engage in combat and that unhealthy tendencies can be rectified.

In dealing with the wrongdoings of Zhang Yongshu in a serious manner, the party committee of Xinhui county has demonstrated that the rectification of unhealthy tendencies requires the united efforts of the entire party, the cooperation from various quarters and, most crucially, the serious attention of those in leadership positions at various levels. So long as they attach due importance to a problem and are determined to deal with it in a serious manner, there is no doubt that it is possible to achieve the desired results. In dealing with the offense of Zhang Yongshu, the party committee of Xinhui county, unlike certain people in leadership positions who tend to retreat in the face of difficulties and to allow a case to drag on or even to cover up the wrongdoings and come to the defense of the guilty party, organized a strong investigation team, cooperated closely with the masses, investigated the case in a thorough manner, established the facts and proceeded to criticize and educate the comrade who had fallen into evil ways in an exhaustive but benevolent manner and to deal with the case promptly and firmly on the basis of facts. By so doing, the party committee served to uphold party discipline, dealt a serious blow to corrupt tendencies, gave the sense of justice a shot in the arm, educated the cadres and won the support of the masses.

At the present time, there are still those who are guilty of serious corrupt practices who, after their wrongdoings have been exposed by the masses, continue to make themselves out to be "heroes" and who, with great hauteur and arrogance, consider themselves so resourceful that they can defy the authority of the party organization. They take full advantage of the weakness and laxity and the lack of determination on the part of those in leadership positions. The more the people in leadership positions appease and accommodate them, the more audacious they become. Comrade Zhang Yongshu is one of those who belong to this category. However, when those in leadership positions in the party committee in Xinhui county stiffened their backs and dealt with the case in a serious and correct manner, justice put perversity to rout and evil tendencies were effectively brought to a

halt. The experience gained by the party committee in Xinhui county serves as an object lesson on the way to engage in a struggle against unhealthy tendencies.

At present, there are still those who indulge in corrupt practices who think that, although subjected to criticism for their wrongdoings, they can expect to continue to enjoy the fruits of their misdeeds after a period of investigation. Zhang Yongshu is one of those who indulge in such fantasies. He had thought that since the "garden villa" was his "personal property," nobody could take it away from him and that he could still "continue to live in comfort" after disciplinary action had been taken. This fantasy has gone up in smoke. Not only was party disciplinary action taken against him, but he was also made to suffer financially. The "garden villa" which he had acquired at such great pains has now been confiscated. All the money that he had paid for which a proper receipt had been issued is being kept by the recipients so that he himself ended up with nothing. Thus, those who indulge in corrupt practices should learn this lesson from the wrongdoings of Zhang Yongshu: It is only by accepting criticism, engaging in self-criticism in the right spirit and by making proper amends for their wrongdoings that they can expect to be forgiven by the people. To persist in one's wrongdoings regardless of the consequences is to court punitive party disciplinary action.

9621

CSO: 4005/336

PARTY AND STATE

BUREAUCRATIC INEFFICIENCIES, 'WRANGLING' CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Mu Xin [3668 6580] and Bai Sun [4101 7157]: "When Will 'Wrangling' End?"]

[Text] "Wrangling" is an important reflection of bureaucratism. People are tired of bureaucratism, and especially tired of wrangling.

Wrangling is a modern term, but the phenomenon has long prevailed in antiquity. The well-known "Su Moling of the Tang Dynasty was nothing more than a master at wrangling. What he advocated--making one's speech vague and one's way of doing things perfunctory and equivocal--may be said to be the ancient theory of wrangling. By later times, perhaps because the practice of wrangling had become more popular and those who resorted to wrangling also became more numerous, even Mr Li Zhi of the Ming Dynasty began to sigh: "Today, Moling's family name is no longer Su."

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the vast ranks of the masses urgently demanded an acceleration of the pace of our socialist construction. They have naturally been very dissatisfied by the dragging, tedious, and irresponsible style of our work. During the past few years, people have said a great many words, written a great many articles, and drawn a great many cartoons sharply criticizing this ugly phenomenon. Nevertheless, things have not changed conspicuously for the better, and cases of wrangling can still be easily cited everywhere.

One comrade has resided apart from his loved one for nearly 20 years. Solving this problem tallies with prevailing policy, and conditions for the solution existed, but it still took him a period of time equivalent to the duration of the anti-Japanese war from the day he submitted his application to the time he was transferred to the place [where he could be] together with his loved one.

A factory director was transferred from one enterprise to another. A distance of less than an hour's walk separates the two units, but going through the transfer procedures alone took him 2 and a half months.

A certain city needed to take over some land to build housing. From the submission of the report to the actual requisition of the needed land, the document traveled from one organization to another until it bore a total of 39 big seal prints.

In the above examples, while the transactions traversed "ten thousand rivers and one thousand mountains," at least they all reached relatively satisfactory conclusions.

But no one knows how many others are still being subject to endless wrangling. In the case of some matters, those above have clearly nodded their approval already, but wrangling still cannot be stopped, and after a lapse of 1 year, and then of 2 years, those matters somehow have remained intact. Even if some people had chosen to step forward to intervene, criticize, and study where the bottleneck lay and who were responsible, it proved, after repeated investigations, often difficult for them to get any clear answers.

Why should some things which ordinarily are not very complicated to handle, or even are rather simple, become so "difficult" once they reach the hands of some of our units and our comrades?

Let us analyze the abovementioned situation in which a document had to be stamped with 30 large seals. According to established statistics, seals No 1 through 6 were invoked during the preparatory stage before the land requisition, seals No 7 through 13 were stamped during the application and report stage, seals No 14 through 21 played their role during the stage when the land requisition questionnaire was filled out, and after this the stage of formal approval still had to be passed before seals No 27 through 39 could be invoked in the stage of concrete implementation. The transaction of this matter involved 10 units, but in being tossed back and forth it had to cross 39 thresholds. If only one of those thresholds had been a bottleneck, the matter would have become pigeonholed or even shortlived. With organizations so redundantly stacked and procedures so intricately minute, if such a system and such specific faults pertaining to it are not reformed, how can operational efficiency ever be improved?

We may also list some of the reasons in this regard. For instance, because our organizations, entrepreneurial units, and public institutions still lack strict administrative rules and a system of responsibility, and cadres' duties and powers are therefore not clearly delineated, it often happens that those who have power don't have anything to do, while those who do things don't have the necessary power. Since some comrades cannot independently and responsibly deal with the problems they should, the only thing they can do is to supplicate level after level for guidance and submit a report on everything. At the same time, because of this lack of a wholesome system and strict discipline, some of our organizations or even individual officials have a considerable "veto" power. Even in the case of matters in the process of being made operational according to established decisions, once a slight difference of opinion interferes, they often can be held back, pushed aside, or suppressed, and the unit(s) in charge can do nothing.

As for the problems in some comrades' thinking and workstyle, they are of course another important reason why this practice of wrangling has not been able to be changed for so long. We should admit that after 10 years of turmoil, the quality of the ranks of our cadres has really gone down. Among some comrades, there has been either a decline in their revolutionary will, an inflation of individualism, a worsening of departmentalism, or a failure to eliminate factionalist influence. Some people are always making diverse petty calculations in their minds. When personal matters, matters of "connected personalities," and matters of small cliques are involved, they can exert all their resourcefulness and go all out to manipulate them without yielding a single inch. When state affairs and affairs of the masses are involved, then they become rather perfunctory and show little interest. With respect to matters as small as concrete difficulties in the masses' lives or as

great as millions in losses in state property, they can invariably pass the buck or drag their feet, mumble unintelligibly or laugh indifferently about them, become perfunctory, or remain unmoved in their usual bureaucratic manner in coping with them. And among these antics, we should also be bigilant about situations in which people cover up their "resistance" with "footdragging." Don't we have certain people who violate and resist the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and with respect to the Central Committee's principles and policies, "hold out against them without compliance" by means of wrangling?

In a pamphlet, I saw a story about Lenin. In May 1919, a contingent of peasants submitted an appeal to the Soviet People's Commissariat complaining that local governments were requisitioning their horses at random. The General Affairs Division of the People's Commissariat turned the appeal over to the mobilization committee of the field command headquarters, and the mobilization committee in turn transmitted it to the special committee on capital affairs. This committee finally returned the appeal to the People's Commissariat with a notation attached to the envelope: "Our work is too busy for us to have any time to bother about such trivialities." This matter came to Lenin's attention. Lenin immediately sent the appeal to the state supervisory department and also personally wrote a note: "Please arrest the bureaucrat who attached this notation."

In quoting this story about Lenin, I of course am not proposing to have all wranglers arrested. Our present situation is far more complicated, and no simple method can be used to solve the problem of bureaucratism. But shouldn't Lenin's attitude of abhorring bureaucratism cause some of our comrades to reflect deeply? Whether in our internal work or in international dealings, such wrangling workstyles of disregarding efficiency, ignoring responsibility, passing the buck back and forth, and being dilatory in handling things have already become quite intolerable. If we still let them continue as usual, without our adopting any resolute measures to carry out work with respect both to the system and its institutions and to people's ideology and workstyle, and thereby achieve some improvement, then we will only be able to crawl forward in endless wrangling and we will accordingly have to pay a heavy price for it.

9255

CSO: 4005/361

SUPPORT FOR PARTY PRINCIPLES, POLICIES EMPHASIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Hou Mingxun [0186 2494 8113]: "Broad Principles Are Certain To Find Acceptance"]

[Text] While being held up somewhere between the states of Chen and Cai, Confucius put this question to his disciple Yan Hui: "Hui, according to the Book of Odes, 'anything that is neither fish nor fowl is bound to be rejected.' Isn't it true that my principles are of an unorthodox nature?" Yan Hui replied: "Master, it is because your principles are of such breadth that they have found no acceptance. However, as long as my master continues to stand by his principles, what does it matter whether or not they are accepted? The fact that they are not accepted only goes to prove that you are a man of principle! It is my fault if your principles are not being taken seriously, but it is the fault of those holding the reins of government if your principles are taken seriously but are not being implemented. Does it matter if they are not accepted? The fact that they are not accepted only goes to show that the man who formulated such principles is a man of virtue." ("Historical Records: The Family of Confucius").

Yan Hui's answer was most ingenious. It was philosophical and at the same time complimentary to his master. However, upon careful study, it is far from being satisfactory, because it failed to stress a most important point, namely, that if a principle is truly broad, profound and unassailable in every way, its nonacceptance is only temporary in nature and it will eventually find acceptance when times have changed and the understanding of the people has deepened. Many new ramifications of the truth, new scientific discoveries and new progressive ideas which have been adduced in an objective manner are rejected at the outset. Eventually, the truth is bound to prevail over an untruth, a view that is correct is bound to prevail over a view that is incorrect, and "nonacceptance" is bound to give way to "acceptance." Does that not apply to the "principles" of Confucius? Although his principles were initially rejected, they were eventually not only "accepted," but they came to be regarded as the most sacrosanct of yardsticks. Confucius has been venerated for thousands of years, and the unquestioning "acceptance" of his principles has taken on the dimensions of a superstition.

One question that suggests itself in this connection is what attitude we should take when a new truth that we espouse fails to gain the immediate acceptance of the people. One attitude is for us to resort to compromise, to flow with the

tide, to refrain from taking things too seriously, and to desist from waging a struggle in a positive manner. This is an attitude marked by a lack of determination to get ahead and is a reflection of Yan Hui's reply to the question put to him by Confucius: "It is because my master's principles are so broad that they have found no acceptance. Why does my master put the blame on himself?" Confucius was so incensed by Yan Hui for urging him not to put the blame on himself that he gave him a dressing down. "Instead of perfecting your principles, you seek to gain acceptance. If you are ready to concede, then your ambitions are indeed limited." Another attitude we can take is to "pursue our goal" without letup and to adhere firmly to the truth. This attitude is characterized by the spirit of upward mobility and a relentless struggle toward our goal. It is the kind of attitude which men of principle should take.

Today, we are in the process of carrying out the various principles and policies laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in keeping with the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. That is the "principle" we uphold today, a "principle" that is also the "greatest." Be that as it may, some comrades were at first not entirely clear as to what that principle meant. However, it did not take long before the people of our country came to embrace it with fervor. After the principle had been put to practical test for a while, those comrades who did not have a thorough understanding of the principle but who were not biased in their views were gradually enlightened and were "reconciled" to the principle. Because this "principle" is in agreement with the basic principles of Marxism, fits in with the circumstances of our country, is conducive to the consolidation and development of our socialist system and is an accurate reflection of the basic interests and aspirations of the entire people, it came to be accepted by the entire population. The series of policies and measures adopted by the Central Committee to combat such unhealthy practices as the abuse of special privileges constitute a part of this "principle." At first, some comrades ran afoul of this principle and were not accustomed to its application. However, instead of "whittling down" this "principle," we "put it into application" with resolution until those comrades gradually came to terms with it. In discussing the party's style, a comrade in a leadership position on the Central Committee made the remark that at present we are not concerned with the formulation of new regulations, since we already have all the regulations we need, but with the implementation of the regulations. In other words, we already have the "principle," a principle which is supreme and which is certain to find wholehearted acceptance by the people. There is no doubt that a supreme principle will come to be accepted. Our faith, therefore, remains unshaken in the party style, the four modernizations and the future of our nation.

9621

CSO: 4005/264

WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED TO DELVE DEEPLY INTO LIFE

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 1

[Text] Recently, the Tianjin branch of the Fine Arts Association, under the leadership of the person responsible, organized workers in the field of fine arts to go into the villages in separate groups and at different times in order to learn and appreciate the vast changes which have taken place since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and so that they may reflect in their works the new look presented by the villages in this new era. This is something in which we may take justifiable pride. Not a few of our comrades have learned to appreciate the fact that in engaging in creative art, it is necessary to have a deep understanding of life as it is lived.

It is necessary for those engaging in literary work to delve deeply into life not only because there is a basic relationship between literature and life, but also because it represents one of the essential points of Mao Zedong Thought regarding literature. In Comrade Mao Zedong's "Address to a Literary Discussion Meeting at Yunnan," one important basic point he made was that literature and art are a reflection of life in human society, that life is the only source of literature and art, and that where the people themselves are their own masters, the proletarian class and the people's writers must delve deeply into the life of the people, particularly that of workers, farmers and soldiers, who comprise an overwhelming majority of the people. That is not only the responsibility but also a long sought privilege of writers and artists. Writers should take the stand of the proletarian class and the people and, through their literary and artistic creations, seek to unite, educate, and awaken the people, to move the people to action, to stir up and provide an impetus to the people, to wage a struggle against the enemy, to reform the old society and to establish a new life. Mao Zedong Thought has nurtured and given direction to a generation of writers who, through their alliance with the laborers and farmers, have produced a large body of excellent literary work. The basic spirit of Mao Zedong Thought is something to which we must hold at all times.

It is obvious that the emphasis we place on delving deeply into life has vital practical meaning. It is necessary to delve deeply into life not only because socialist literature demands it, but also because it promotes the creative endeavors and the healthy growth of workers in the field of literature. The situation in China is in a stage of development as time marches on. The people are in the process of establishing socialism and of setting it in motion. The

social life in our country is undergoing vast and profound changes in many areas. This is an exhilarating period, the likes of which have seldom been seen in our history of several thousand years. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee drew a number of scientific conclusions regarding the "Great Cultural Revolution" and certain other problems since the establishment of the Chinese republic. We must put the errors of the past behind us so that the entire party and the entire people may work as one in establishing a modern socialist nation. It is the hope of the party and the people that in their creative efforts our writers and artists will emphasize the present struggle for the establishment of a new life. In such circumstances, it is obvious that what previous knowledge writers had of life is not sufficient. Unless they keep pace with the times, they will have great difficulty in depicting in a profound and lively way the life of the society and the spirit of the working people. For this reason it is incumbent upon writers and artists to fortify their spirit, to delve deeply into life, to acquaint themselves with the times, to have a knowledge of society, to understand the masses, to have a clear view of the entire situation, to have a firm grasp of the mainstream, to have a clear idea of what lies ahead, and to produce a larger quantity and a higher quality of work in order to stir up the people, to strengthen their will to continue the struggle and to bring prosperity to the nation.

In regard to the question of delving deeply into life, we have two different kinds of experience. Prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," we tended to resort to simplistic methods. While the "Great Cultural Revolution" was in progress, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" herded all literary workers into the factories and the rural areas, using "delving deeply into life" as a means to persecute literary workers. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have sought to restore order and to undo the damage. Our purpose is to make it possible for writers to produce better works, but not to minimize the need for them to delve deeply into life. Our literary workers should give a positive response to the call of the Central Committee to delve deeply into life. Our literary and art departments at various levels must take it upon themselves to adopt different methods to organize and to give impetus to writers and artists to delve deeply into life. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, facilities have been made available to writers and artists to delve deeply into life and to engage in work of a creative nature that truly reflects the situation as it is. If that is not sufficient to meet the purpose, further facilities should be made available. At any rate, we must, on the one hand, insist that writers and artists delve deeply into life and, on the other, avoid the adoption of arbitrary measures for the sake of uniformity.

The period in which we live is a glorious period. It is our hope that many more writers and artists will keep pace with the times and in touch with the people and will produce a greater quantity of work that is of a high quality.

PARTY COMMISSION CONDEMNS ABUSE OF 'CONNECTIONS'

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] The Chinese Communist Central Discipline Inspection Commission today transmitted to all areas a report written by a reporter of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY headlined "Leadership Cadres in Beijing Call on Everybody Concerned To Put an End to the Evil Practice of Wining and Dining," and issued a notification for general information calling for a determined effort to put an end to the evil practice of abusing "connections."

The notification states: "How shocking it is to read about the evil tendency of abusing 'connections' described in this report! This tendency has taken hold of many departments, enterprises and businesses throughout the nation. Under the pretext of promoting business, the culprits in minor cases indulge in wining and dining at public expense. In more serious cases, bribes are offered and accepted on the sly. This practice not only results in small and big economic losses of public assets, but, more seriously still, in undermining integrity in society and corrupting the minds of the people. Is the Communist Party to tolerate such evil practices? Can a socialist society permit such tendencies? Are we members of the Communist Party to remain unconcerned over such phenomena and to refrain from taking action to defend the party style and the style of the socialist society? Are we members of the Communist Party to concede that we are powerless to put an end once and for all to such corrupt and evil practices which damage the party and the cause of socialism? Is it not our historic mission as members of the Communist Party to wage a struggle against all evil forces for the benefit of the people and the cause of socialism?"

Describing this report as "a living lesson," the notification calls on all members of the Communist Party to make a determined effort to put an end to and wage a relentless struggle against such evil practices. Having seen examples of the corruption of the party style and the evil practices prevalent in society, all members of the Communist Party should make a determined effort to expose, to criticize and to bring such incidents to the attention of the local unit of the party organization so that action may be taken to educate, to criticize and even to take party disciplinary action against the culprits. So long as all party branches and leadership cadres at various levels take the interests of the party to heart, we are confident that, by using criticism and self-criticism, we can put the "god of pestilence" which battens on the abuse of "special connections" on the run.

9621

CSO: 4005/264

WRITER DENOUNCES IMPROPER PRACTICES IN PUBLICATION FIELD

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 81 p 3

[Text] Editor's Note: There is no denying that a state of confusion exists in such publications as dictionaries for editors, publishers and writers and who's who. The inclusion of personalities and their assessment are often lacking in a serious and correct attitude of responsibility to the readers. Some critiques of a self-serving nature are even written by the subjects themselves. This practice, which is resented by the readers, does not even serve to promote the healthy development of writers in general and of young writers in particular. The problem as outlined by Su Bixian [5685 1801 7359] (pen name Su Ye [5685 5509]) merits the attention of the parties concerned.

Letter From Comrade Su Bixian

Jiangsu Branch, China Writers' Association:

Please take note of the mysterious letter herewith enclosed.

I would not, of course, send such things as "biographies." That is not only because I am not a "famous young writer," but more particularly because I despise such vulgar practice. However, the problem does not lie in what attitude I personally take. I consider this practice a grossly absurd and undesirable phenomenon. Perhaps the Writers' Association should look into the matter jointly with the concerned departments.

First, it is questionable whether it is really necessary to issue special publications to give a boost to genuine "new literary lights" and "famous young writers" (including even self-descriptions of one's "facial features and characteristics" and one's "personality and bearing.") Second, why should the persons responsible ascribe such descriptions to "the concerned departments" and "the concerned publishing departments" instead of coming right out and identifying themselves (in the absence of official letterheads and official seals) and why must they insist on having an individual pen their accolades? Is the "compilation and writing section," which "receives its materials from the responsible persons and which

arranges for its editors to do the writing," really serving the interests of the "vast number of young lovers of literature"?

This is not the first time I have received such letters from out of the blue. I believe this is a phenomenon which merits our attention. I am bringing this to your attention with some of my views.

Su Bixian
27 September 1981

Enclosure 1: Letter of Manuscript Agreement

Respected Comrade Su Ye:

How are you!

With the support of the concerned parties in the publication field, we have organized a compilation and writing group to provide, at the proper time, the large number of readers at home and abroad with the biographical data of new luminaries who have made their mark in the literary field, and especially to provide the large number of young lovers of literature with a vivid model of how to break into the literary field. It is our intention to compile this year a book entitled "Road to Success Travelled by Noted Young Writers in Modern China," to be published next year. With the agreement of the parties concerned, you have been selected as one of the entries in this book. We are writing to request that at your early convenience you kindly send us your brief biography and a detailed description of the process of creation in the writing of your major works and the various pitfalls and difficulties that you have encountered on the way so that we may send you a draft for editing before the end of the year, for inclusion in a book to be published in the first quarter of next year.

We deeply regret having to intrude upon your busy schedule with this bothersome request. However, in view of the need to satisfy the urgent request of a large number of readers, and especially the large number of young lovers of literature, may we request that, for the sake of the readership and our own business requirements, you take the time to grant our request?

Thanking you for your support and awaiting your reply!

Compilation and Writing Section,
"Road to Success Travelled by Noted
Young Writers in Modern China"

(Address and Liaison: XX City XX Province, Office of the Drama Critic: XX)

25 September 1981

Enclosure 2: Main Points of Reference for Writing

1. "Road to Success Travelled by Noted Young Writers in Modern China" is not a stilted publication providing information on the life of writers and their works

or an old-fashioned dictionary on writers. Rather, it describes with a smile for the readership how, on their road to success, the principals use their sweat and tears to water the flowers of their imagination. It is a lively and novel work of reportorial literature jointly produced by the principals who "provide the materials" and editors who "compose the writing." For this reason, you are kindly requested to take note of this distinctive feature when sending us materials.

2. In general, attention should be paid to the following:

- 1) You should keep your biography to a suitable length and supply the basic information (including special physical and personal features) and basic facts on your family.
- 2) How did you come to be enamored of Lady Literature and how did you go after her in relentless pursuit?
- 3) Have you ever suffered the pains of unrequited love? In times of adversity, what happy and tragic moments have you known that are worth mentioning? What moving incidents have you encountered?
- 4) Have you ever had the experience of dealing with frosty-faced editors? How did you go about putting a smile on that frosty face?
- 5) Describe how your love of literature came to fruition (list of literary works) and other achievements (experiences and revelations).
- 6) What are your views on talent, application, opportunity and undesirable practices in the literary field? What mottoes do you have? What is your secret of success?
- 7) Anything else that, in your opinion, the readers should be told.

You are also requested to send us a recent photograph which best reveals your character and bearing for the benefit of the readers.

9621

CSO: 4005/264

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

OLD REVOLUTIONARIES ENCOURAGED TO WRITE THEIR MEMOIRS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Chen Yiyu [7115 0001 5038]: "Do A Better Job of Digging Up the Treasures--Several Suggestions for Writing Memoirs About the Revolution"]

[Text] It is an important task of the current study of modern history to mobilize and organize the older generation to write memoirs about the revolution and various other historical materials from memory, with a view to digging up the historical treasures hidden in people's minds.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, owing to the 10 years of turmoil, the development of this work had undergone a very great decline. But after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, many old comrades, one after another, again picked up their pens and began to write with diligence. Throughout the country, historical circles, literary and art circles, and press and publication circles have also done a great deal of work and achieved very encouraging results.

For the acceleration, broadening, and deepening of the work of writing memoirs, I wish to offer the following views on certain current problems:

1. This Is a Rescue Mission

During the war years of the past, the fighting was very furious and the ranks of cadres were young. At that time there was very little talk about writing memoirs. After the liberation of the whole country, this task was formally placed on the agenda. However, in the 10-year turmoil, many veteran comrades who had personally gone through the revolution and knew its history very well were persecuted to death, and a great deal of valuable historical data were wantonly destroyed. Those veteran comrades who luckily survived are fairly advanced in age, and most are physically weak or sick. This shows that the task of writing memoirs about the revolution has become exceedingly urgent. We can say without the slightest exaggeration that this is an urgent rescue mission which confronts us.

Last spring, I received a letter from a comrade in Henan who is studying modern history. He said: "On my recent study tour, I went to many places, including Bengbu, Hefei, Chaoxian, Nanjing, and Shanghai, and visited 21 veteran comrades, such as...including seven comrades...who were seriously ill and could neither

write nor talk. From this tour of mine, I have come to realize profoundly what you said in Beijing about 'saving historical data'." Not long after I received this letter, [two] of the seven seriously ill comrades, comrades Yao Yunliang [1202 6663 5328] and Liang Guobin [2733 0948 2430], passed away. This Henan comrade cannot help but leave blank a part of the text of his research project.

Objective reality has shown us poignantly that if we don't take this task with the spirit and measure of urgency, many important historical data of the revolution will further disappear from our side.

We should not only save the historical data of the revolution but also earnestly salvage all valuable historical materials of the old society and of former political parties, governments, and armies. Only by having all data of both positive and negative aspects can we successfully carry out a scientific study of modern China's problems in the economic, political, military, and cultural fields.

"Don't let an opportunity slip; it may never come again." This statement is applicable to the writing of memoirs. Our motherland abounds in many and varied natural resources which should be developed and used for the four modernizations to bring benefit to the people. However, natural resources are of a different nature. Forests and crops which grow on the surface of the earth are regenerative resources and can reproduce themselves, and organic and inorganic mineral resources buried underground are preserved fairly permanently. If they are not exploited today, we can do so in the future. But the treasures of historical data stored in people's minds will be needlessly lost forever if they are not tapped promptly when there is the opportunity. In that case, "even should we go up into heaven and down into the earth, we will not find them in those two boundless places." Stamping one's foot and beating one's breast will be of no avail.

2. The Important Significance of Living Data

At present, some comrades in our historical circles call existing documents and material data "dead data" and the data in people's memory "living data." To facilitate the explanation of the problem, this distinction is permissible.

Both dead and living data are very important and should be collected earnestly; we should do rescue work on both. Here, we will analyze in particular the special significance of living data.

First, living data will make up the deficiencies of dead data. Although modern documentary data are much more abundant than those of ancient times, when we carefully study a certain event, a certain personage, or a certain issue, we always feel that there is an insufficient or incomplete basis, or very little vivid detail, and even a total blank, so that many disputed cases have remained unsettled. We have an urgent need to collect living data with an objective and in a planned way to make up the deficiencies.

Next, living data can effectively verify or confirm the dead data at hand. We have often found that there are clear contradictions between different data. For instance, concerning the issue of the second attack on Changsha in the fall of

1930, according to the recollections of some veteran comrades, Comrade Mao Zedong discovered rather quickly at that time that this decision of leftist adventurism was incorrect and he talked patiently against the scheme, which was finally changed. Owing to his relationship with the organization, however, Comrade Mao Zedong did participate in signing the order to march toward Changsha. If we rely simply on these documentary data, we will come to a conclusion that is contrary [to the truth]. As another example, on the question of sending Red Army advance units northward in July 1934 to resist the Japanese troops, according to recollections of responsible comrades of the older generation, at that time Comrade Mao Zedong had been pushed aside into a position of no real power, and this decision was made by the Party Central Committee dominated by Wang Ming and his leftist adventurism. However, on 31 July of the same year the newspaper HONGSE ZHONGHUA [RED CHINA] published a speech signed by Comrade Mao Zedong under the title: "The Current Situation and the Red Army Anti-Japanese Advance Units." If one relies simply on this document, one will also come to a conclusion that is different [from the truth]. There are so many similar instances. This shows that in making an objective analysis by comparing data from memory with documentary data, we will be able to make more realistic judgments on certain historical issues.

Moreover, living data will help us to conduct a flexible study of the questions left open in history. That is to say, we can carry out investigation and study by relying on those who personally experienced the historical events to make a textual research and analysis together with us, strive to clear up doubts and difficulties, or seek the knowledge of historical reality with greater accuracy, thoroughness, and depth.

Furthermore, revolutionary memoirs also have a direct significance, which can summarize revolutionary historical experience and carry forward the fine revolutionary tradition.

In a word, for the study of modern history, besides the great quantity of documents and material data, there are the eyewitnesses to history. They can provide first-hand data directly. This is a great advantage which is better than the study of ancient history. We should fully develop this advantage.

3. Persist in Seeking Truth from Facts and Write Directly and Impartially.

The most basic requirements for writing memoirs are to persist in seeking truth from facts and to write directly and impartially. Concerning everything in the past, we must respect historical facts and write history according to what actually occurred in history. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Only by being faithful to the facts can one be faithful to the truth." We must handle facts with accuracy before we can talk about expressing them in vivid writing and appraising them from a correct viewpoint.

"Seek truth from facts and write directly and impartially" is a guiding thought complete in itself. If we refuse to seek truth from facts but have prejudices in our minds or do as we please, then we cannot write very well in a direct and impartial way. In recalling and recording historical events, personages, or issues, and in passing judgments on them, we must always try to approach all

problems objectively and strive to conform to historical reality. Over a long period of time in the past, historical idealism and metaphysics sometimes ran wild. Particularly during the time of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a very bad practice became common, and that was to freely distort and falsify history according to their counterrevolutionary political needs. There were people who always watched which way the wind was blowing in politics so that they could set the tone for themselves to write history. To praise a certain person, they would extol this person to the skies; to decry a certain person, they would beat this person down to hell. If one day the political wind should change direction, they could also throw a person from heaven down to hell or raise a person from hell to heaven. There was a so-called theory to extol historical events and persons by "covering up their faults and publicizing their merits," and to decry them by "covering up their merits and publicizing their faults." This gust of evil wind once spread all over the domain of literature and history when writers of history, memoirs, and memorial articles always took their cue from the changing wind. In recent years, the situation has changed fundamentally; however, we still cannot ignore the dissemination of errors and those who conceal their identity. In writing memoirs, we must continue to guard against and eliminate their influence.

Here we have the problem of serving reality. Promoting the writing of memoirs, of course, is not simply for the purpose of reminiscence but mainly to serve socialist reality. However, we must on no account willfully make up memoirs according to certain practical needs. Only by writing history strictly according to the facts can we find from them things that have a certain pattern, can we draw profitable experiences and lessons, and can we truly serve reality. Anything contrary to historical facts, deceiving the public and misleading the people, will only harm the serving of reality.

There is another problem concerning the relationship between history and historical figures. They cannot be separated from each other. In view of the difficulties and drawbacks which often appear in writing about historical figures, some people hold that in compiling modern history and writing memoirs, one should portray only the masses of people as the makers of history, and should try one's best to "avoid" writing about actual persons. As a matter of fact, this won't work. Man's activity is the principal part of social history, and all social activities are organized with leadership. Leaving out the necessary representative persons would to a certain degree be like denying history itself. We cannot refrain from doing something necessary for fear of a slight risk and fall into a tendency toward historical nihilism. What counts is to view historical figures by persistently seeking truth from facts--that is, according to historical materialism--and to correctly deal with the role of individuals in history.

In addition to the correct attitude of seeking truth from facts, we must have the bold spirit of writing directly and impartially. If we cannot free ourselves from all misgivings, or even still have lingering fears, then we will not be able to produce good memoirs. On several occasions in the history of our party, under leftist mistaken rule, with factionalism, a patriarchal system, deception by political trickery, and merciless attacks, many comrades who had the courage to speak without reservation were suppressed, pushed aside, and even framed up tragically. It is possible that some veteran comrades have such misgivings from the bottom of their hearts--[misgivings] which are in essence a traumatic

historical experience. However, we should see that in the history of our party, eventually right always triumphs over wrong, actions of speaking out with courage have always been beneficial to the party, to the state, and to the people, and comrades with the courage to speak out have always been respected by the people. There is no way to change past history, but things contrary to historical truth can never hold their ground. The "integrity of history" was stressed long ago in ancient China. Chinese people have always read with admiration the stories about Imperial Historian Bo of the Kingdom of Qi and others who wrote history directly and impartially at the risk of their lives during the Spring and Autumn Period [770-476 B.C.]. In the Tang Dynasty, the idea of "appreciating history through its candid writing" was propounded by the historian Liu Zhiji, who held that "good annals are valued for true records and candid writing," and laid stress on "the direct style of writing"; thus a good historian "should not cover up demerits or make up merits" and "should praise the good and denounce the wicked by showing no fear of strong pressure." Of course, in a society under the domination of the exploiting class, it is very difficult to really achieve this. Only under the guidance of our party's correct line of Marxism-Leninism will it be possible to truly initiate the writing of history directly and impartially, and to display the dauntless spirit of being faithful to true facts.

4. One Should Write Mainly About One's Personal Experiences

A person's memoirs should be his "personal" memoirs. This question may be viewed in two ways.

First, for the author, he should particularly write about his own personal experiences and things which he can understand, and should not put the stress [on things] beyond his personal experience. Writing one's personal memoirs is, after all, different from compiling history. Some memoirs which we have read are very magnificent pieces of writing but contain very little from one's personal experience; the greater part of such memoirs was copied from documentary material and other authors. Using the name personal memoirs but narrating a great deal of things which one has never experienced is not writing one's memoirs in the original sense, especially because it frequently lacks truth. For instance, in his memoirs a certain comrade described as a "renegade" a martyr who had laid down his life. [In so doing, the writer] was departing from his personal experience; he had made no conclusion on which to base his accusation. He has published his memoirs, which shows that he is inconsistent even in his own writing, relies upon hearsay instead of seeing for himself, writes rashly, and not only shows no respect for his comrade's political life but also brings about difficulties to the martyr's descendants. Writing memoirs is serious work. The writer must focus on his personal experiences and on facts he knows well; he must just write what is in his mind, no more and no less; he must write in simple, unadorned language; and he must never use a flashy style without substance.

Meanwhile, objectively we should also admit that in writing their personal memoirs, writers have different personal experiences, status, angles of vision, and viewpoints. Therefore it is difficult to avoid certain individual limitations. For instance, during the Agrarian Revolutionary War Period [1927-1937], the three leading persons at a certain base have different recollections of the history of this period. Such a situation is very common. We can neither

arbitrarily try to achieve a consensus, nor simply affirm or negate any one of them. The only way is to advocate that they complement each other and work in coordination. We suggest that all publications on our party's history and modern history and special issues of memoirs should provide a special column for study and discussion. Whoever has written memoirs should welcome others to complement or correct them and raise questions for discussion, particularly on important issues, so that the work of writing memoirs can be done in a more lively and vigorous manner. The purpose of further study and discussion is to gain a clearer idea of the historical situation and the issues. This should be conducted in a comradely manner; the author is not to be blamed for any mistakes, and still less is he "to receive a blow with the big stick." Some people argue that "no discussion should be set off, because more discussion will bring about more controversy, which will make the writing of history even more difficult." Is this argument sound? It seems that it is not quite true. In the study of modern history, we cannot expect data available from various sources to be of the same caliber and the same type. An individual's memory is limited and onesided, and the combined recollections of many people, plus documentary data, carefully studied and discussed, can clarify issues in a comparatively comprehensive way. A person's memoirs can represent only that person and cannot reach a conclusion on history on behalf of the organization. A writer is asked only to be faithful to the facts which he has been involved in. He cannot be asked to transcend his own personal experience and make up with difficulty a "comprehensive, systematic recollection of the past." If he did so, it would be unreal. In a word, we must respect everyone's true recollections. Only by having in one's hands a large amount of live data from different sources and different perspectives can one have better advantage for conducting historical study and discussion in greater depth and bring one's judgments closer to reality.

5. Put History in a Correct Relationship to Literature

The relationship between history and literature is a question of long standing. In writing memoirs, this question should be understood and dealt with properly.

At present, there are two different views on this question. Some comrades hold that "memoirs" are a literary style and use the forms of literature to write down from memory historical events well known to the writer and his personal experience, and that this bears the nature of literature. "Revolutionary memoirs" are a new type of literary reportage. Other comrades hold that "memoirs" are a new historical style and belong to the realm of historical science. Of course, these two different views may be put to discussion. What is more important, however, is how to correctly handle the relationship between history and literature.

Of course, no hard and fast line can be drawn between literature and history. In ancient China, these two were at first combined into one. Later on, with the development of social production and culture, they were gradually divided and became independent. However, those who specialized in writing history still paid a great deal of attention to literary attainment. As the saying goes, "Writings devoid of literary grace cannot go very far." Only a fine style of verbal expression can make historical works forever popular among future generations--ZUO ZHUAN [BIOGRAPHIES OF ZUO QIUMING] and SHI JI [HISTORICAL RECORDS] being examples. In making historical records today, no matter what

style and type of writing we adopt, it is still necessary to have fine literary accomplishments. In particular, revolutionary memoirs should not only provide historical data but also concurrently serve education in revolutionary traditions. It is also a matter of course that people want them to be written in a more lively and touching style.

However, it will be another thing if we push further the meaning of "literature" from fine speeches and words to literary and artistic works. If we follow the requirements of literary and artistic works, take historical facts as the basis, and are not just permitted but also required to subjectively work out a literary plot, give expression to ideals, portray certain images, employ artistic exaggeration, so on and so forth, then what this becomes is the writing of historical prose, historical novels, and historical plays, and certainly not the writing of historical memoirs. Thus, these works do not possess the "quality of historical documents" and the "value of historical data."

At present, we seem not to be quite sure of this point. To make memoirs more appealing to the readers, some editing and publishing departments have asked the writers to make up lively stories; some writers have more or less used the method of writing literary and artistic works in their descriptions, portrayals, and exaggerations; and some readers also have made such requests. Their desire is plausible, but the problem is that we cannot attend to trifles to the neglect of essentials. Since these works are called historical memoirs, the authors must strive to narrate historical facts accurately and plainly, preserve the worth of their writing as historical documents, and maintain their credibility for truth among the broad masses of readers. Memoirs should be written in a vivid style, but not at the cost of truth. In literary and artistic works, we may make up certain stories which it is impossible for people to know, such as describing the noble feelings of a valiant hero fighting in isolation the moment before he met his death; in writing historical memoirs, however, it is obvious that we cannot make up such a plot.

We say that memoirs should not be written to be literary and artistic works. However, we should advocate the writing of literary and artistic works by taking memoirs as the source. When we have written really good memoirs, a great deal of historical treasures are unearthed, and naturally it will be more advantageous for literary and artistic works to flourish.

6. Mobilize and Get Organized

Generally speaking, the writing of memoirs is a regular and common matter. For instance, an adult may write about his childhood days. We are talking here about a rescue mission, which mainly means: 1. The history of the early times--first, the Agrarian Revolutionary War Period and various periods previous to it, which now only a very few persons know of. 2. Many of our aged comrades have performed leadership work for a long time. When they write their memoirs, they may not confine their writing to the early times, but should also pay attention to the War of Resistance Against Japan and various periods after it.

The number of veteran comrades who have experienced the various periods is limited, and we must make the best use of our time to investigate and to keep

records (especially of those comrades who have a long and rich experience, were involved in important historical events, or went through unusual circumstances), mobilize them to write their memoirs, and start this work in an organized and planned way. These comrades may write memoirs by themselves, others may help them to write, they may write together with others, they may tell the stories while others put them down in writing, or others may call on them for an interview. They may proceed from the remote to the recent (first writing about the history of early periods), and from the important to the trifling (first writing about important events, issues, and disputed cases). We must strive to complete the first segment of our rescue mission essentially within 2 or 3 years.

As our veteran comrades are scattered all over the country and in various departments and organizations, to accomplish this work we must adopt various measures under the unified leadership of local party and government organs, relying on the special departments concerned, and according to different circumstances, so that this work can be carried out faithfully.

9039

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LI JIAN'S WORKS SAID LACKING MERIT

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Zhao Tiexin [6392 6993 0207]: "Literature Should Give People a Sense of Beauty--Thoughts After Reading Several Novels by Comrade Li Jian [2621 0494]"]

[Text] Literary works should cultivate in people nobility of soul and a whole-some sense of aesthetics, touching the readers with emotions of beauty, and offering them enjoyment and strength so that "they are awakened and moved." That was not the feeling I had after reading some of Comrade Li Jian's novels recently. The ideological tendencies in them are unhealthy and poor in aesthetic taste, with vulgar, far-fetched make-believe and low-class descriptions to an unimaginably intolerable degree. The basic overtones in his works are gloomy, depressing and damaging to social customs and morality, and so unreadable that they "give people a sense of doom, as if all mankind is finished." This can no longer escape our attention.

Let us first take a look at "The Womens' Bridge." This piece describes the story of how 10 middle-aged women were cruelly insulted, criticized and persecuted to death in a village during the cultural revolution. The author has made up his tale as follows: Some leaders of the reactionaries who belonged to the "gang of five black mules" had falsely accused 10 women who fled from Henan to get married and settle down in a village in Hebei of being "traders in human beings," and of having serious political problems. Not only did they persecute their husbands to death, they even organized mass criticism against them in front of all the villagers. "Their colorful sashes were untied for fear that they might run away." "The criticism session began. They stood upright facing east in a straight line in the middle of the bridge, bowed, then bent down at an angle of 90 degrees, facing the severe criticism of the masses." "Ten of the people's militia came behind them, grasping their hair and dragging their heads downward, and nudged between their buttocks with their bent knees." They let the women climb up, "but as soon as they reached the end of the bridge, their pants slid right off," at that time, "the murderous "Five Black Mules" beat their buttocks with the butts of their rifles, branding bright red marks on their tender white skin."....At last, these 10 women jumped off the bridge into the river. The author writes in lament, "the big bridge fell into silence. I was stricken with the feeling that the earth would soon collide with the moon, and that doomsday had come."

Let us take another look at "Lingering Evening Shadows Among The Flowers." This work is a reflection on the unwholesome tendencies of the privileged cadres in leading positions. You Weiwei, a young typist in an electric company, was sick of the group of flatterers around Party Committee secretaries Qin and Xia. She tore down a chicken coop built for Chin in front of her house only to find out later that another chicken coop that belonged to Xia hanging in front of her window. One day, when Weiwei was burning waste paper at the edge of the window, she inadvertently set the chicken coop on fire, therefore greatly offending Mrs Xia and the flatterers who were quick to take their revenge. They first spread the rumor that Weiwei had problems in her life style and caused Weiwei and her lover to break up. Later they transferred her from the typing room to labor in the concrete building materials unit. Insulted by indecent people, beaten and scolded by her parents and teased by people who did not know the truth, she found it impossible to go on living and committed suicide by jumping off a cliff. The whole novel was filled with extremely base descriptions, such as when Weiwei was with her lover Xiaoxi, Xiaoxi's brother came after them yelling, "Xiaoxi! Go back!" and "grabbing him, gave him two slaps on the face, then spit at Weiwei, 'How shameless! I won't cast a look at a hundred of you stripped naked on the street when I drive past!'" When Weiwei was working with the men on the site, some men wanted to take off their long pants because of the heat and were reminded of the presence of the young girl. "Her?!...She couldn't care less...." On her way home from work, Weiwei was stopped by five rascals who abused her with even filthier language. In works such as "Drunken Amidst the Flower Bushes," "Goddess of the Castle" and "Shedding Tears in the East Wind," vulgarity such as the above abounds.

Why has the author taken such pain to make up and exhibit this filthy and horrid stuff? It does not offer the enjoyment of beauty nor can it educate. It only throws dirt in the readers' eyes, contaminates their minds and excites their senses. It has especially adverse influence on young people and disruptive effect on society. How can such work not offend and disgust people? No wonder someone says that these works are not "exhibitionist literature" in general, but real down-to-earth "rogue literature."

Our writers should develop correct motivation and a seriousness of attitude when they write. They should emulate Lu Xun in that "what is eaten is grass, what is squeezed out is milk and blood." Writers should offer refined and nutritious spiritual food to people, so as to nurture in them a noble sensitivity. They should be engineers of the human soul. Do not step over the line like Comrade Li Jian. Life is the source of creation. Only when our writers are in love fervently with life, using its practice as a starting point, can they create realistic, plausible, quality work which in turn can play its proper role. Whoever deviates from life, making up tales at random, or concentrating on describing filthy stuff is a ne'er do-well, and deserves to be teased and despised by everybody. My advice might not be totally acceptable to the author. However, even if what he has described and reflected are not made up but true occurrences, he still should not so casually and naturalistically include them in his writing. Someone once remarked that literature is a reflection of life, reflecting what life is and what life is like. Such outlook is extremely superficial, erroneous and incomprehensive. Literature indeed reflects life, but it is the essence of life, the entirety of life rather than the phenomena of life and its piecemeal, meaningless trivialities. We should not regard whatever exists in life as suitable

material for literature. Lu Xun pointed out this a long time ago, "There are certain people in real life who should not be included in literature. If they are, and faithfully reproduced, then the literary work would be destroyed." (Last article in the collection of "Qiejieting Articles," Banxia Xiaoji.) Hence, during the process of creation, the writer must be very serious-minded and be ready to hold himself responsible to the masses. Whatever is nonexistent in life cannot be made up at random. Even real occurrences have to be selected, screened, reprocessed and refined. We should never forget at all times that "we should be extremely selective in subject matter, just as we should dig deep in digging a well." Obviously, Comrade Li Jian is far from adequate in this respect.

When we advocate that literary works should offer people the enjoyment of beauty, we do not mean that writers should avoid all the contradictions in life, or to unveil its darker sides, or to attack whatever is ugly. Marxist dialectics tells us that the fine and beautiful coexist with the ugly through constant comparison, and both develop through constant conflict with one another. They have never existed in isolation. Comrade Mao Zedong had once said, "There will always be erroneous things and ugly things in existence. Opposites such as the good and the bad, the virtuous and the evil, the beautiful and the ugly will always continue to exist." (Talks at the forum on national propaganda of the CCP.) It is because of this that extolling and unmasking are always interwoven in literature. When we are eulogizing the positive, the progressive and the beautiful, at the same time, we should unmask and strike relentlessly at the negative, the degrading, the decadent and the ugly. A writer's duty is to extol, his privilege to unmask. But our extollment should not be extollment for extollment's sake, and our unmasking should not be for the sake of unmasking. Both are for the sake of digging out worthy things in life so that people derive from them confidence and strength, encouragement and hope, as well as the enjoyment of beauty. Extolling the beautiful in life is for the purpose of arousing people's pursuit and love of beauty; unmasking the ugly in life is for the purpose of arousing people's hatred and to break away from ugliness. Unmasking ugliness is to extol beauty, and the negation of ugliness is the affirmation of beauty. We should, through the conflict of beauty and ugliness, make the beautiful more beautiful and the ugly more ugly. The reason for Li Jian's works being criticized by people is not because what he has revealed about the cultural revolution, but because his exposure has not offered people confidence and strength, much less the enjoyment of beauty. The cultural revolution was an upheaval which brought about great catastrophe and misery to the Chinese people, and it was right to have unmasked it. Yet, we should explore and study in-depth the 10 historical years. Instead of just witnessing the occurrence of ugly events, we should also notice the strength of the masses and occurrences of beauty. Some people might say, "the cultural revolution was a disaster. What's the point of praising it?" In fact there were events worthy of praise, such as the "April Fifth" heroes who persevered in the struggle against the gang of four and the heroic Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 1800]. In "The Womens' Bridge," when the 10 women were facing cruel insults in stark-nakedness, is it believable that not one of the bystanders would have stepped out to stop it, and not one showed any resentment? When the 10 women jumped off the bridge into the river, is it believable that not one of the onlookers would have attempted to rescue them, but remained onlookers? How can the readers enjoy a sense of beauty through exhibition of feminine nudity and ugly

things and the description of the masses as feeble and ignorant weaklings? Instead, people sense from it the omen of "doom," believing that "the final days for mankind are here."

In order to offer the influence and enjoyment of beauty, the writer himself must possess a noble spiritual realm with refined thoughts and emotions. A writer's soul has to be beautiful before his works can be such. It is unimaginable that a writer with a filthy soul, utterly void of ideals would be able to produce good literary work. How well said is the following by Lu Xun: "Only a revolutionist can create revolutionist literature," "What gushes forth from the fountain is water; what gushes forth from the veins is blood." This is indeed the all-inclusive quintessence of literary creation. All literary works are the reflection of social life within a writer's mind, filled with his feelings, displaying his likes and dislikes and carrying his ideals. Despite the same subject matter, persons with different standpoints, thoughts and feelings would create entirely different works. "The Water Margin" and "Defeating the Bandits" are both about the uprising of Liangshan farmers. What the former zealously extols as heroic fighting spirit of the farmers' militia is mercilessly attacked and depreciated by the latter as if total destruction was its only aim. The film "Night Rain at Bashan" and several of Comrade Li Jian's works ("The Women's Bridge," and "Bow in Admiration" in particular) write about the same cultural revolution, but they let people enjoy a sense of beauty and arouse in people the great respect and admiration for the noble personality and refined sentiments as well as the hatred and loathing for Lin Biao and the gang of four, foretelling their inevitable fate. Yet Comrade Li Jian's several works have not "elevated peoples' souls, making them more noble," (quoted from Belinsky), and they have not generated in people through grief and wrath the strength to fight back.

Comrade Li Jian is still young and has considerable creative potential. I hope that he will review in earnestness his own ideology and works according to the spirit of the Central Committee's Forum on Questions on the Ideological Front, and that he will sum up conscientiously experiences and lessons, strive hard to grasp the dialectical materialism of Marxism, and establish a noble soul and a healthy aesthetic sense, and step by step get on the correct road of creative writing, producing good works for the masses. It would be very helpful for Comrade Li Jian to review Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech in the Forum on Screenplay Writing. Comrade Hu said, "In life some things are noble and fine." "We authors should dig out the noble and the fine, praise them and eulogize them, so that more and more people are moved to learn from them and study them."

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YOUNG WRITERS CAUTIONED ON IMITATING FOREIGN WORKS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Lin Shi [2651 6684]]

[Text] On the northern outskirts of the city of Han Dan, there is an arched stone bridge across the Qin River named Xuebuqiao [Learn-How-to-Walk Bridge]. According to legend, there was a young man from Shouling who travelled thousands of miles to Han Dan to learn how to walk because he heard that dwellers in Han Dan had a graceful gait. It turned out that not only did he not learn their grace, he even lost his original style of walking, so finally he had to crawl back home.

After listening to this story, I am reminded of our present young men who are learning the first steps of writing. Every novice in literary circles is bound to be confronted with the problem of taking his first steps. Some have already learned a strong and graceful gait and are striding forward with firm steps; some, though still staggering with great strain, have nevertheless demonstrated the potential and the sure signs of big strides forward in the future. However, there are still some who are like the young man of Shouling: on the one hand not able to learn the new gait, and on the other hand having already forgotten the original, and who have no choice but to crawl. One example is the so-called "stream of consciousness," "the school of obscurity," and "hit songs," etc. There are some fairly good folk song singers who have suddenly taken to humming foreign tunes in foreign accents, resulting in having no style at all; some writers who were once authors of rural life, who had mastered the language idiomatically, and whose works abound in rural simplicity and lovable characters, suddenly turn to making up far-fetched and unrealistic life and people. Furthermore, they even use a language with foreign grammatical structure that is not a translation, yet somewhat resembling translation, halting and stuttering, lacking in fluency and precision. How like the young man of Shouling! While failing to master the new gait they have abandoned their original way of walking. These contemporary "young men of Shouling" indeed deserve our pity, anger, grief and caution!

These new "Young Men of Shouling" worry us, but what worries us more is that certain young men are unaware that this path leads nowhere, and continue treating it as a sure way to success. A lot of literary novices, instead of reading our own Chinese literary works, just keep picking up garbage long abandoned by the foreign countries themselves. As soon as they take up writing, they forget that

they are Chinese, thus giving up the Chinese language and copying the foreign language they do not really understand.

Every race has its own language and literature, and every race has to produce its own literary gems in order to contribute to the treasurehouse of world literature. Arbitrarily following the works of other races can never create gems of real worth.

Of course, developing one's own literature and art does not mean rejecting the assimilation of nutrients from other races and other countries, because our own literature and art are further enriched through cultural exchanges and mutual learning. However, learning does not mean mere copying, nor does it mean replacing our own literary art with foreign art. The ancient "young man of Shouling" is a good example. He was not wrong in trying to learn the graceful gait of Han Dan; but he was wrong in having abandoned completely his original style of walking. Instead of assimilating substantial good experiences of other people and create his own style to enrich himself, he had only arbitrarily adopted the outside shell, resulting only in the pitiable end of having to crawl back.

This lesson is derived metaphorically through the story of Xuebuqiao. Such a bridge and such a story are still beneficial to later generations. I have one advice for the comrades who have abandoned the rural life and language they are so familiar with, and contrive unsuccessfully to learn from what is superficial in others, and have regrettably stopped their efforts to write for the rural people: come back to cultivate our own gardens, come back to our own race, ancestry and our masses, learn and master our literary heritage, assimilate the fine nutrition, blending it with fine foreign qualities, and strive to reflect the limitless and many-faceted life of our brave new world. Let us create a new superior literature of our race and make new contributions to the four modernizations, to socialism, to the good of all people as well as to the treasurehouse of world literature!

Xuebuqiao is a good lesson!

9784

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PACE OF ANTILIBERALIZATION MOVEMENT SLACKENS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 81 pp 11-12

[Article by Ying Tzu [3853 1311]: "The Wind Against the 'Liberalization' Movement Weakens"]

[Text] The nippy autumn wind has turned the maple leaves red in the western suburb of Beijing. However, the chill wind against "liberalization" has shown clear signs of weakening and an inability to stem the "liberalization" movement in Beijing.

Hospitalization of Zhou Yang [0719 2254]

The movement against "liberalization" is primarily directed at literary circles. However, Zhou Yang, a leading litterateur, has recently been hospitalized. While some people maintain that he was hospitalized because he was sick, others claim that his sickness was of a mental origin and the result of his being made the object of criticism. Still others believe that he hospitalized himself in order to avoid assuming the role of leader in the antiliberalization movement. Because of his position as leader in literary circles, it seems obvious that he should also assume the role of "leader" in the extensive "antiliberalization" movement. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, he has assumed the role of "leader" in a number of criticism campaigns and has laid low a large number of people who came under his attack. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he himself was attacked and brought to heel. There is reason to believe that he sought refuge in the hospital in order to avoid being castigated a second time as a hatchet man.

Thus, the leadership of the present "antiliberalization" movement against literary circles has fallen on the shoulders of acting Minister Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492]. Document No 30, which criticized the leadership of the Ministry of Culture for "disorganization and weakness," ordered that the ministry submit a written explanation. Zhou Weizhi had no choice but to call an emergency discussion meeting of certain workers in literary circles in Beijing and to make out a list of errors which surfaced during the "discussion" for the Standing Committee of the People's Congress.

The powers that be in the Chinese Communist Party are furious over the "disorganization and weakness" which has crept into the "antiliberalization" movement. Both

Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang are determined to put an end to the "liberalization" trend in general and that among literary circles in particular. They consider that Bai Hua [4101 2901] was not subjected to criticism earlier because an opportunity to pounce on him did not exist; that when it became obvious that he should be subjected to criticism, not a single decent article was written that would serve the purpose; and that now is the time to launch an attack in earnest. They expressed the view that, although Bai Hua had received many letters of support, the writers of those letters were either stupid or vicious characters and that they had no cause to gloat with self-satisfaction.

LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE Article and Feng Mu's [7458 3668] Sickness

Since Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang bemoaned "the lack of a decent article," literary circles have been awaiting the appearance of such an article.

The heavy responsibility for penning this article fell on the shoulders of the two Tangs [0781], assistant editors of the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE (Tang Yin [0781 0936] and Tang Dacheng [0781 6671 2052]).

Following a period of rumors and after many changes had been made in the manuscript, the article ("On the Mistaken Trend of 'Unrequited Love'") was finally published. The reaction, however, was not favorable. It was generally considered that the article was short on logic and less than persuasive. On certain points, the article parroted the same views which had been expressed in an earlier article by a "special commentator" in the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY. It was at this juncture that Feng Mu, editor-in-chief of the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE, was taken "ill." It has been said that this was an evasive ploy on his part. This is something which merits attention.

Attitude of Bai Hua

What was the reaction of Bai Hua, the cynosure of all eyes, to being criticized once again?

Nobody has read Bai Hua's criticism of the criticism directed against him or even his article criticizing "liberalization." He only wrote the poem, "A Song for My Mother," in June in Wuhan in memory of Song Qingling and it was published in the CHANG JIANG literary magazine in August.

After the article criticizing "Unrequited Love" appeared in the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE, Bai Hua allowed that the criticism in that magazine had a better attitude than the article written by a "special commentator" in the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY. While admitting that "Unrequited Love" was not without its shortcomings, he could not bring himself to accept the view expressed by the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE.

It appears that the criticism of "Unrequited Love" calls for a serious, in-depth analysis. It is thought that Bai Hua himself must have his own views.

People With Definite Opinions

Naturally, there are those in Beijing who take a strong stand against "liberalization." For example, a certain bigwig of a certain organ who had taken an extremely positive stand in support of the "two whatevers" took an equally positive stand in this instance. He instructed his "subordinates" to come up with some articles on "foreigners who are involved in illegal underground publications" and to "let it be known that those who lend their support to the liberalization movement in China are not all that honest, and that some of them are in fact in collusion with foreigners."

A certain bigwig of the Democratic Party also took a rather positive stand and evinced a desire to take the lead in getting something going. The secretary of that rather insignificant party dissuaded him from making the attempt by saying: "We had better not take the lead this time around."

Among the ordinary people, there is strong opposition to attacks on "Unrequited Love" and "liberalization."

Lukewarm Attitude of Masses

Among the people in Beijing, the rumor is going the rounds that "Peng Ning [1756 1380], coauthor of 'Unrequited Love,' made it known that the filming of 'Unrequited Love' had the blessings of a veteran cadre!" Why, then, has it met with disapproval at this time? Peng Ning's father, Peng Jialun [1756 0657 0243], was a comrade-in-arms of some veteran cadres in the Yanan era. Peng Ning himself has on occasion visited some veteran cadres in their homes. It seems obvious that the rumor that the filming of "Unrequited Love" had the approval of a veteran cadre was not woven out of whole cloth.

In such circumstances, the masses showed a perfunctory attitude with respect to Document No 30 and used their new "liberalization" to boycott the criticism of "liberalization." At a number of study and discussion meetings held by certain units, nobody offered to express an opinion and the conveners had to tell the participants to go home "to study by themselves."

More interesting is the fact that the people in Beijing have come up with many wisecracks. For example, somebody said: "We have no idea what is meant by the freedom movement. All we know is that commodity prices are free to go up, that high officials are free to go in the back door, that veteran cadres are free to take advantage of their special privileges and that we the people are free to endure hardships. It is these freedoms that call for criticism and opposition."

Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian Give Up Their Villas

Feelings are strong among the masses against cadres taking advantage of their special privileges, something which is not lost on the communist powers that be. To avoid being attacked, some personages have given up their villas voluntarily. For example, Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian have given up their villas at Beidaihe so they can be used to accommodate tourists. Some tourists from Hong Kong and

Macao have availed themselves of the facilities. Deng and Li have earned favorable comment from the masses, although they are not without detractors.

Ye Wenfu [5509 2428 4395] and Bai are the only people mentioned by name in the antiliberalization campaign. Although it was said that as many as 10 would be implicated, nothing further has so far been heard.

It seems that the onslaught against literary circles in the antiliberalization campaign has run out of steam.

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21 January 1982

CHINA REPORT
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 262

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PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL DIVERGENCE WITHIN PARTY DISCUSSED

Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 26 Nov 81 p 2

[Article by Zhang Jianguo [1728 1696 0948]: "Is Ideological Divergence Within the Party a Reflection of Social Class Struggle?"]

[Text] Is ideological divergence within the party a reflection of social class struggle? Clarifying this question has tremendous practical significance in regard to carrying out criticism and needed struggle within the party.

First, the inner-party struggle brought about by ideological divergence within the party cannot be confused with social class struggle. Although there is, within specific bounds, a definite connection between inner-party struggle and class struggle, they are nonetheless two matters with distinct natures. The inner-party struggle of which we normally speak is the struggle brought on by divergent opinions concerning ideological, political, and organizational principles. This is basically a kind of ideological struggle, and is basically not a struggle between the enemy and ourselves, which would be a serious conflict. The total meaning of the class struggle of which Marxism speaks indicates the antagonistic contradiction and struggle between the classes in a class society with fundamentally conflicting economic interests. This is a kind of "life and death" struggle to decide "who rules whom." The party is the vanguard of the proletariat and is the highest form of proletarian class organization. This basic characteristic of the party determines that no other class exists within the party, and that certainly no exploiting class exists, and so we cannot imagine that class struggle in this basic sense still exists within the party. Nor can struggle within the party be equated with the unique form of class struggle being carried out within specific bounds in society at present. We say that the exploiting class as a class has already perished, but within specific bounds class struggle still exists. This primarily takes the form of the surviving forces of the exploiting classes continuing to carry out political, economic, and ideological sabotage. The ideological consciousness of the exploiting classes continue to corrode our society. Owing to the existence and influence of class struggle in society, under specific conditions degenerate elements and other bad elements will appear within the party, and society's counterrevolutionaries, enemy agents, and other criminal elements also can penetrate the party and carry out sabotage. But these are extremely singular phenomena. Once these types are discovered within the party, they are eliminated, and since they already exceed the bounds of inner-party struggle, accordingly we cannot say that this is inner-party class struggle.

Is ideological divergence within the party a reflection of social class struggle? This concrete question requires a concrete analysis. The actual conditions of inner-party struggle make it clear that while part of the divergence is a reflection of social class struggle, the majority is a reflection of contradictions between the new and the old in society. We absolutely cannot, without analyzing matters, generalize by saying that all ideological divergence within the party is a reflection of social class struggle.

Generally, under two kinds of conditions it is clear that class struggle influences the creation of ideological divergence within the party. One condition is that the surviving forces of the exploiting classes in society still, in a thousand and one ways, have a direct influence on our party, and within the party there truly are those who are corrupted by them. Some of these people have yet to become class enemies who view socialism antagonistically, but their thinking and actions are already incompatible with the party. Within the party we must carry out a resolute struggle against them and work hard to redeem them. This component of inner-party struggle should be called a reflection of class struggle within the party. Another condition is that the ideological consciousness of the various exploiting classes--especially the bourgeoisie--frequently attacks the body of the party, seriously influencing the thinking of some party members; from this is formed the sharp antagonism within the party between proletarian consciousness and bourgeois consciousness which leads to a certain ideological divergence on and struggle over principles. And this struggle in its true nature is also a reflection of class struggle within the party. With regard to the surviving forces of the exploiting classes, and to their ideology and its influence within the party, we should not overestimate them, but neither can we be apathetic and fail to remain vigilant. We must appropriately deal with problems of inner-party struggle.

At the same time, we should be able to see that a lot of the ideological divergence within the party represents, for the most part, divergence and contradiction in ideological understanding produced among comrades in the process of struggling for the common goal of communism, and that it is basically not a serious conflict. This sort of divergence and contradiction belongs to the realm of ideological understanding, which originates in social understanding and is a major component of inner-party struggle. For example, because the subjective and objective are not in accord, subjective understanding does not match objective reality. This causes certain comrades to momentarily confuse right and wrong in certain questions, creating ideological divergence and struggle with other comrades. These kinds of antagonisms and struggle between the advanced and the backward, the correct and the mistaken, and dialectical materialism and subjective idealism are a reflection within the party of the contradictions in society between the new and the old, and they are a normal occurrence in the healthy development of the party. This situation is brought about by various factors, such as differences in individual experience, ideological levels, theoretical levels, and the angles from which problems are viewed, and is not necessarily related to the influence of class struggle. Some comrades make mistakes in their work, and some even make fairly grave mistakes. This is due primarily to subjective understanding's not corresponding to objective reality and to incorrect assessments of circumstances in society and in the party which lead to the formation of a series of mistaken notions and actions. For years now, because they have

mistakenly considered all ideological divergence within the party to be a reflection of social class struggle and have denied its origin in social understanding, some party members, including those in responsible positions in the party, have made a variety of mistakes, such as making contacts with others at will without giving proper thought to the nation, promoting others on a regular schedule, endlessly raising matters to the higher plane of principle, and labeling others in one way or another. In fact, mistakes made by comrades are caused by various subjective and objective factors which must be concretely analyzed in a spirit of seeking truth from facts. From the beginning, historical materialism has required a detailed and concrete analysis of concrete conditions. We cannot use class struggle and its influence to simplify explanations of matters basically not related to class struggle and its influence. As early as 1937, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Antagonism and struggle between differing ideas within the party are a common occurrence and are a reflection within the party of social class contradictions and contradictions between the new and the old." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 294) This conclusion corresponds to the objective reality of inner-party ideological divergence and struggle. In a society where class struggle is a major contradiction, not all ideological divergence and struggle within the party would be a reflection of social class struggle. After socialist reform, in circumstances where class struggle is no longer a major contradiction in our society, it is even less believable that all ideological divergence and struggle within the party would be a reflection of class struggle. We must scientifically analyze the conditions of struggle within the party, correctly understand the origins of ideological divergence within the party, analyze problems in the spirit of seeking truth from facts, and correctly carry out inner-party criticism and self-criticism.

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PARTY AND STATE

NATIONAL PRIDE CALLED KEY TO IMPLEMENTATION OF OPEN-DOOR POLICY

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 28 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Huan [7120 3562]: "Be Aware of Our National Pride"]

[Text] NANFANG RIBAO carried a letter conveying a funny incident, as follows: One day when He Huixian [0149 1979 8300], a physics teacher at Zhongshan University, tried to buy stamps at Baiyun airport, a salesgirl who was busy transacting business with foreign visitors intermittently stared at her with unfriendly eyes and even scolded her by saying loudly: "Please don't enter without an invitation." By then, that salesgirl had hundreds of high-denomination stamps with "paintings by Qi Baishi" on them available for selection by foreign guest visitors. But the last thing she wanted was to sell them to He Huixian and other Chinese customers. Why? She replied: "I just don't want to sell them to you. That is all." He Huixian was very angry. Taking a look at the front facade of the shop, she found there were "Chinese, do not enter" signs (not to mention whether such signs are justified). When she asked other workers there the same question, they replied: "We Chinese can buy stamps here." This proves that this farce was directed and acted out by that salesgirl alone.

After seeing the ugly, more often than not one will become nostalgic for the beautiful. This reminds me of the three-character slogan "national pride."

I often think of the three-big-black character term "national pride" embroidered on the white brocade banner covering the remains of Lu Xun on the day of his burial. What Lu Xun hated most during his lifetime was the "disgusting appearance of waiters" who bowed their head upon seeing foreigners and who stared at their own countrymen arrogantly. His militant life was full of undying patriotic zeal, strong national pride, self-confidence, and a sense of national honor. Although that salesgirl is probably professionally competent and physically fit to serve her nation, she seems to lack the "sense of pride" which is most essential to citizenship in the Chinese nation.

In this connection, I also recall a passage from the hitherto unpublished 18-paragraph manuscript by Fang Zhimin [2455 1807 2404], entitled "Lovely China":

"If I can survive, I will serve as a mouthpiece for China as long as I live. If I can't and if I die, I hope that a lovely flower will grow where I shed my blood or where my remains are buried. You can see this flower as something in which my spirit resides. If it waves its head in the breeze, you may regard it as a

gesture of my sincere salute to our patriotic heroes who were dedicated to the struggle for liberation of the Chinese nation."

As everyone can see, there are numerous such "flowers" growing across the vast wilderness of the Chinese nation, and there are heroes in the Orient who have stood up prominently in their midst and who are worthy of the salutation we have extended to martyrs. Is there any reason to cast doubt on this fact? The awareness that we are the masters of this land will grow whenever we hoist that five-red star flag over the Tiananmen Square, whenever we raise our heads and look at the splendid national emblem on the facade of the Great Hall of the People, or whenever we entertain celebrities from all over the world in our world-renowned tourist centers or negotiate with foreign businessmen at the Guangzhou Trade Fair. Although we are still poor today, the Chinese nation, which has given the world four major inventions, has turned over a new leaf in life. We have counted on our own industriousness and wisdom to build a new socialist life. Our lofty sense of patriotism and the greatness of our nation were further demonstrated recently when our national women's volleyball team beat representative teams from seven other nations to capture the world championship. Is there any reason to disgrace our nation, as that salesgirl did?

At this point, I must convey my admiration for He Huixian, an admiration she deserves. After being snubbed by that salesgirl, she kept her pent-up feelings bottled up in her chest for 6 months before deciding to spell them out in an article published by a socialist newspaper. The essence of her appeal is a call to preserve our national pride. She has even thoughtfully conjured up this statement as her last advice to her children when one day she approaches death. "Under every difficult condition, you should fight together with the fellow men of your motherland." He Huixian is only an inconspicuous, ordinary citizen. Her appeal indicates that a precious virtue--a strong sense of national pride still exists in the minds of our countrymen. We may call this the reincarnation of "our national soul!"

As for that salesgirl, I do not intend to take any "retaliatory action" against her on behalf of He Huixian. But I want to say that there should be no conflict of interest between the implementation of our open-door policy and the demonstration of our patriotic spirit. As a citizen of socialist China, she must learn to respect, discipline, and love herself rather than disgrace our national dignity and her own stately bearing. Of course, if permitted, I longingly and earnestly want to say this prayer to her: "Please reincarnate the soul of our nation!"

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PARTY AND STATE

WENZHOU ACTS TO RECTIFY PARTY WORK STYLE

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by staff reporters Jin Miaoxin [6855 5379 2450] and Shen Limin [3082 0448 3046]: "Use the Weapons of Criticism and Self-Criticism To Solve the Problem of Weak and Lackadaisical Attitudes"]

[Text] At a recent meeting of municipal, county, ward and commune cadres, the Wenzhou party committee made use of criticism and self-criticism as a weapon to combat the weak and lackadaisical attitude displayed by those in leadership positions. At the meeting, which was held in an animated atmosphere, the participants showed enthusiasm and pledged unhesitatingly to direct their efforts toward speeding up the construction projects of the four modernizations in Wenzhou municipality.

That was the first meeting of this scale since the merging of the Wenzhou district with the municipality. In September this year, the municipal party committee, with a view to tailoring the leadership system to the needs for the joint development of the agricultural, industrial and commercial sectors and for upgrading the role which can be played by a metropolis, submitted a request to the Central Committee to merge the Wenzhou district with the Wenzhou municipality and to appoint new members of the Wenzhou municipal party committee. This meeting was convened under the auspices of the new Wenzhou party committee.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four" and especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, large number of cadres and people among the masses in the cities and villages in the Wenzhou district, under the leadership of the original district and municipal party committees and party organizations at various levels, have engaged in all types of revolutionary and construction projects, with tremendous political fervor and with outstanding results. However, although the situation showed a great deal of promise, certain problems remained unsolved. These problems to a large extent have something to do with the shortcomings in the party style and the lackadaisical attitude shown by the leadership. On the basis of surveys and research, the Wenzhou municipal party committee decided to use criticism and self-criticism to combat the erosion caused by various types of political dust and dirt and political viruses, and to upgrade the fighting strength of the party.

One feature of the criticism and self-criticism campaign waged by cadres at various levels in Wenzhou municipality was that the leaders took the initiative and held themselves responsible for setting an example. At the meeting of cadres of four

different levels, the responsible comrades of the municipal party committee, citing many instances of disorganization and weakness displayed in many areas and units, drew the conclusion that "while the problem comes from below, the responsibility rests with those in leadership positions." For example, with respect to the bourgeois liberalization trend, although in the past the problem had not escaped notice and although it had aroused indignation, no serious effort was made to criticize, to educate and to wage a struggle against it. In particular, no decisive action was taken against those who had violated party discipline and the laws of the nation. Many offenses had been allowed without serious attention being paid until the problem was raised by the higher leadership organizations. By engaging in self-criticism, those in leadership positions in the municipal party committee set an example for those in leadership positions in the various counties. In the Shangtang commune, the seat of the people's government in Yangjia county, a member of the party committee known as "the bully of Shangtang" continued to engage in the sale and transportation of lumber after having been found guilty of despoiling farmland, cheating and oppressing the people and behaving in total disregard of the law. Although action against him had been contemplated, nothing was actually done because of certain pressures. It was not until an inspection team was sent by the provincial and municipal party committee to assist in work projects going on in Shangtang that he was arrested according to the law. At a discussion meeting, the standing committee of the county party committee, in seriously analyzing this typical case, came to the conclusion that it was because of the failure of the county party committee to take a strong stand that the culprit was able to engage freely in his nefarious pursuits right under the noses of the leadership. It became known that some comrades in the county party committee had had occasion to enlist his help in acquiring lumber and land for building their own houses. Some 20 leadership cadres in the county, including those with the rank of section and bureau chiefs, came to his support because they had received "favours" from him. Some units even abetted him in engaging in illegal speculation by allocating funds to him and by providing him with letters of introduction and work permits. After the case had been brought to light, the concerned leadership cadres in the county party committee felt that self-criticism was called for. One leadership cadre said with emotion, "While this man took advantage of our power, we availed ourselves of the profits we could make from him. By taking advantage of each other and by seeking personal gains, both sides have damaged the prestige of the party and the interests of the people. This is something truly regrettable!" Everybody present was determined to use this example to educate the cadres and to rectify the corrupt practices prevailing in the organizations at various levels. Although the destruction of farmland for building houses in Wenzhou county had been questioned by the ZHEJIANG RIBAO, the local authorities had failed to take action to rectify the situation. In the course of this meeting, the standing committee of the county party committee reminded those present of the criticism which had earlier been made by newspapers and those in higher leadership positions, made a conscientious effort at self-examination and pledged to put an end to such aberrations. In looking back to the situation of "stringency, relaxation, collapse and surge" which characterized the struggle against smuggling some time ago, comrades in Rui'an, Pengyang and Cangnan counties came to the conclusion that it was the result of doing things in "fits and starts" and that it was a reflection of their inability to make a determined effort to implement the instructions of the Central Committee and of their lack of effort in taking the necessary action. They thereby launched a criticism and self-criticism campaign and pledged to benefit from the lessons gained from their experience and to intensify their efforts to achieve a decisive victory in the struggle against smuggling.

Another feature of the criticism and self-criticism campaign waged by the conference of cadres of four different levels in Wenzhou municipality was the conscientious effort made to get things accomplished and to win over the people through persuasion. At the meeting, the municipal party committee distributed a set of "model materials" and "discussion materials" to the participants for discussion and criticism. Without the approval of the industrial and commercial administrative departments concerned, some comrades of the party committee of the Dajing district in Yueqing county had established the so-called "Dajing Trading Company," harbored undesirable elements and used the name of the "company" to violate laws and regulations. They were finally brought to trial in a court of law. At first, Zhou Chaobao [0719 2600 1027], secretary of the district party committee, was unrepentant. The leadership cadres in the municipality and county and the secretaries of several communes in the Dajing district confronted him with the facts of the case and explained to him that "emancipation of the mind" did not mean "letting the mind run wild," that "stimulating the economy" could not be achieved by "breaking laws and regulations" and that his major offense was in breaking the rules and regulations of the industrial and commercial administrations and in engaging in speculation and illegal practices. After being told the above, Comrade Zhou Chaobao's posture was opened up. The comrades in Taishun and Dongtuo counties also used the "unity-criticism-unity" method to enable those cadres who were guilty of one offense or another to see the error of their ways, to distinguish between what was right and what was wrong, to lay down their burden of guilt and to make a new start.

Through criticism and self-criticism, the cadres at four different levels in Wenzhou municipality further strengthened the unity of those in leadership positions. Some comrades said, "In the past, we were criticized by the masses for 'waging a struggle within the fortress instead of serving as a fortress to wage the struggle.' If all of us would engage in self-criticism and strengthen our unity and cooperation, we are certain that we can make the party organization 'a fortress for waging the struggle!'" Some leadership cadres on the municipal level suited their actions to their words in rectifying corrupt practices by voluntarily giving up their homes over and above what rightfully belonged to them. The 1,000-odd leadership cadres at different levels who attended the conference also pledged to unite as one to implement the four modernizations and to dedicate themselves to the various tasks waiting to be done in Wenzhou.

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CSO: 4005/353

PARTY AND STATE

LEADERS MUST SET EXAMPLE IN CORRECTING PARTY STYLE

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] As reported by this paper today, the party committee of the Wuhan Hardware Industrial Company, citing the abuse of such special privileges as the use of automobiles and the allocation of food and housing, called on members of the committee to take it upon themselves to establish a correct party style. Although there are those who regard such matters as of minor importance, the action taken by the party committee substantiates the fact that it is only when those in leadership positions set a personal example that they can speak with authority and that their words can be put into action. The concrete example offered by this company makes clear once again that, to do away with undesirable social practices, it is imperative that the party style should be corrected and that it is those in leadership positions who hold the key to the solution of the problem.

The leadership cadres of our party at various levels are outstanding representatives of the people and the masses and are the mainstays of the party. Every word uttered and every action taken by leadership cadres serves as an example for the people and the masses. Through their words and action during the long revolutionary struggle, the older generation of revolutionaries established the fine tradition of first overcoming difficulties before thinking of pleasure, charging ahead instead of beating a retreat, making heavy demands on themselves while adopting a magnanimous attitude toward others and setting a personal example for others to follow, thus creating an admirable tradition for the party and a new climate for a whole new generation. However, as a result of the serious impairment of the party style caused by the counter revolutionary clique led by Lin Biao and Jiang-qing and the abuse of power by people in leadership positions, there are those who have become so bold that they think nothing of engaging in corrupt practices. Up to the present, there has been no basic improvement in the social climate and the social order primarily because there has been no basic improvement in the party style. If people in leadership positions at various levels would only take the lead and set a personal example in rectifying the party style, there is no doubt that they can bring about a better party style and a better social climate.

Thus, those in leadership positions at various levels must first of all come to a better understanding of the importance of rectifying the party style and of raising the level of their self-awareness. At a meeting to discuss the work of evaluating party theories, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out that "at a time when vast historical changes are taking place, when problems are piling up like a mountain and a hundred neglected matters are waiting to be attended to, the rectification of the party style is of critical importance." Under the difficult circumstances at the present time, if party members, especially cadres in leadership positions, should

take as their motto "The question of the style of the ruling party is a matter of life and death to the party," search their own souls and remain alert to the sounding of the warning bell.

Furthermore, leadership cadres must take to heart the principle that "to correct other people, it is first necessary to correct oneself" and take the lead in rectifying the party style little by little and step by step. Those in leadership positions must constantly bear in mind that "teaching by setting a personal example is more effective than teaching by talking." A hundred dozen high-sounding exhortations are not as effective as one single piece of meaningful action. It is better to set a personal example than to shout oneself hoarse in exhorting other people. In setting a personal example, those in leadership positions must, first of all, rectify their political and ideological style, revivify their revolutionary spirit, set an example in implementing the line, the policy and the principle of the party, show an attitude of responsibility in their work, improve their work efficiency, and engage in criticism and self-criticism. At the same time, it is also necessary that they should subject themselves to strict discipline in the economic area and in their way of living. If leadership cadres would set a personal example and take the lead, their orders would be obeyed even if they do not utter a single word and they would be much more persuasive in seeking to influence other people.

In order to rectify the party style, leadership cadres must also be prepared to hold on to their principles and to wage a struggle against all kinds of corrupt practices. It is not sufficient that they abide by the moral code themselves. They must not be afraid to deal with contradictions, fail to distinguish between what is right and what is wrong or to dispense reward and punishment in a just manner. More important still, they must not resort to appeasement or compromise, show favoritism, come to the defense of undeserving parties or give the green light to those guilty of corrupt practices. The state of weakness and disorganization presently shown by some party units on the question of rectifying the party style has resulted in an absence of a sense of rectitude, the proliferation of corrupt practices and the isolation of those who firmly adhere to the party line, who totally dedicate themselves to their work and who are not afraid to speak the truth and to wage a struggle against corrupt practices. We must rectify this extremely deplorable situation.

The party style can certainly be corrected if those in leadership positions would adopt a correct work style, an unbending attitude and proceed in the right direction one step at a time.

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PARTY AND STATE

CONFERENCE SCORES PARTY WEAKNESSES AND WORK STYLE

Wuhan GHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] At a conference to discuss the work of party discipline inspection held on 29 October to 1 November, the Wuhan party committee called on the participants to heed the instructions issued by leadership comrades in the Central Committee on the question of the party style and, in the spirit of the conference on the work of party discipline inspection held by the Central Discipline Commission and the Wuhan Provincial Discipline Inspection Commission, to attach greater importance to the question of the party style, to clearly understand the major function of discipline inspection work, to further strengthen their confidence in the work of discipline inspection and to wage a struggle to bring about a basic improvement in the party style in our city.

It was agreed at the conference that, since the promulgation of the "principles," the party committees and discipline inspection commissions at various levels in our city have done a great deal of work with good results, particularly in the investigation and handling of a number of cases of an economic nature in recent months. However, from various points of view, it can be said that there has been no basic change for the better in the party style. In fact, undesirable tendencies continue to exist in the political, ideological as well as the economic areas.

First, some party members and cadres have failed to implement conscientiously the party line, the party policies and the party principles since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and to stand up to and to oppose the prevalent tendency in society to shake off party leadership and to engage in conduct unbecoming the four basic principles. In not a few units and departments, corrupt practices run rampant and those who firmly adhere to the party line, who throw themselves wholeheartedly into their work, who are not afraid to speak out in a forthright manner, and who commit themselves totally to the struggle against corrupt practices are being isolated. This situation must be rectified and not be allowed to continue.

Secondly, corrupt practices have assumed alarming proportions in the economic sector. There are those who are guilty of bureaucratic practices in the area of economic administration and those who have shown a lack of responsibility in their work, causing financial losses and wastage to the state and collectives. Some, taking advantage of "connections," are guilty of offering and accepting bribes. Some keep part of the profit for themselves or use it to pay others at their own whim. Some resort to smuggling and illegal currency transactions while engaged in business dealings with foreign commercial firms to the detriment of their own good name and that of the nation. Some resort to tax fraud and tax evasion. Some accede to the

demand on the part of some among the masses to use ingenious means to give out bonuses and payments in kind, and some even resort to corruption, thievery, speculation and other irregularities.

Thirdly, some leadership organizations display a lack of spirit, indulge in bureaucratism, subjectivism and procrastination, take an irresponsible attitude and fail to put their hearts in the accomplishment of difficult tasks. They are slow in taking a situation in hand. Lacking in understanding, they fail to see what is before their eyes and to comprehend what goes in their ears. They appease their superiors by discharging their responsibilities in a perfunctory manner and make all kinds of excuses for failing to carry out orders. They show no dedication to their work, are adept at procrastination, allow problems to drag on unresolved, and are practices in "passing the buck." They are disorganized and do not study or discuss problems of major importance. When rules and regulations are violated by their departments and units, instead of investigating into the circumstances and dealing with the situation, they take the easy way out by belittling or ignoring the offense. They seek to accommodate the cadres who have committed errors and use all kinds of excuses to condone and defend the guilty parties.

It was pointed out at the conference that a number of factors are responsible for the fact that some departments and units are lax in tackling the problem of the party style and that they are weak and disorganized. First, the entire membership of the party, especially those in important leadership positions, have yet to attach sufficient importance to the question of the party style. Secondly, lacking a correct understanding of the relationship between strictly adhering to party discipline and showing concern for and a protective attitude toward the cadres, they cannot reconcile the issuing of a reprimand with the showing of a caring attitude toward the cadres. Thirdly, they are concerned that the creation of bad feelings between them and the cadres would redound to their own disadvantage. Fourthly, they are afraid of risking the displeasure of the cadres' powerful backers. Fifthly, they are remiss in upholding in a steadfast manner the party's system of democratic centralism. Some members of the party committee often fail to come up with a decision if one single person voices a dissent with the result that some problems remain unsolved over a long period of time. The city party committee, which must be held responsible for not tackling the problem with dedication, has committed itself to the task of dealing with the weak and disorganized situation and to find answers to certain problems regarding the party style within the year.

The conference called on party committees and discipline inspection commissions at various levels to heed the instructions of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. First, they are to continue their efforts to implement the "principles," to strengthen political ideological work and to wage a struggle against those who, by their words and action, have violated the four basic principles and to give top priority to the enforcement of political discipline. Secondly, they are to rectify corrupt practices in the economic sector. They must deal severely with those who are guilty of corruption and larceny, who offer and accept bribes and who seek to undermine socialism. Those who are guilty of economic offenses must be made to pay restitutions. Those who violate party and political discipline and who break the law must be severely dealt with instead of being appeased and accommodated. Severe punishment must be meted out to those leadership cadres who connive with, give protection to or are the accomplices of those who are guilty of misconduct. Thirdly, they are to strengthen the establishment of discipline inspection commissions at various levels are to deal with serious cases involving the party style in their units or departments and to seek to bring about a basic change for the better.

PARTY AND STATE

CREATING ATMOSPHERE FOR CRITICISM, SELF-CRITICISM URGED

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Ren Yun [0117 0061] in 'DANG YUAN LUN TAN' [Party Members Forum 7825 0765 6158 1086]: "Creating an Atmosphere in Which People Dare To Speak Out"]

[Text] Some people say that it is all right to engage in self-criticism, but difficult to criticize others. This statement is probably only partially correct. If it were truly so, then such self-criticism would be only perfunctory, avoiding the important and dwelling on the trivial. We often avoid speaking about problems, which are truly, truly deep in our minds or are real scars on our own bodies; we are especially afraid that others will seize upon them. Once others talk about our problems, then we become annoyed. Actually, those who are capable of self-criticism generally are also able to properly handle criticism from others. This is especially true for leading party cadres.

Nevertheless, for many years due to the calamities wrought by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who on the slightest pretext would seize upon someone's mistakes and come down with a big stick on him, or even "step on him," the traditional work style of criticism and self-criticism was severely damaged. The result is that even now certain units and departments find it difficult to carry out criticism.

Some people say that criticism is truly difficult. If we were to criticize leaders above us we would be afraid that they would "put us into a tight situation"; if we were to criticize cadres at the same level we would fear being called "poor fellow workers"; and if we were to criticize those below us we would fear "losing their votes." Are these "three fears" correct? Of course not. These "three fears," to put it bluntly, are nothing more than fear of coping with reality, and fear of losing votes. Let me ask: If we have such fears, why is it that we don't seem to fear damaging the people's welfare and the party's principles? Why is it that we don't realize that by passively watching a comrade commit mistakes without helping him, we end up permitting him to continue with his mistakes until he commits a major blunder? Isn't this mentality caused by individualistic concerns over personal gains and losses? If we correctly take the stand of the people and the party, and if we really care for our comrades, then we should dare to carry out criticism of our comrades' mistakes, including engaging in necessary struggle, in order to help our comrades recognize and correct their mistakes.

A thoroughgoing materialist is dauntless. Our party has always advocated the spirit of the "five no fears," which are: 1) don't be afraid of being discharged; 2) don't be afraid of being expelled from the party; 3) don't be afraid of being divorced from your spouse; 4) don't be afraid of being put in jail; and 5) don't be afraid of being executed. Naturally these are the extremes. "He who fears not being cut into pieces dares to unhorse the emperor." During our country's feudal period there were yet hard-boned types such as Hai Rui who dared to offend the emperor by giving him straightforward advice. There is no reason we, proletarian revolutionaries, should be afraid of speaking out or sacrifice ourselves for the benefit of our party and our people.

However, on the other hand, if we wish people to practice the "five no fears," then we must create an environment permitting them to speak out. This calls upon party cadres first of all to have the spirit of self-criticism. They should sincerely carry through the "three don'ts," develop a democratic work style, accept criticism and scrutiny of the masses with an open mind, and especially encourage and support criticism from their subordinates. This is a crucial element of promoting democracy within the party. When such an environment is created, criticism and self-criticism will certainly be correctly carried out.

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PARTY AND STATE

PARTY URGED TO ENCOURAGE PRAISE AS WELL AS CRITICISM

Wuhan CHANGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 16 Oct 81 p 2

[Article by Xie Baicheng [6200 4102 2052] and Jin Zhengjian [6855 2973 7003] in 'QUN YAN TANG' [5028 6056 1016 The Masses' Forum]: "We Should Also Advocate Praise"]

[Text] Recently people have begun to pay attention to criticizing unhealthy tendencies. However some comrades have not paid much attention to praising advanced models and when they do so it is not with much conviction and forcefulness. For example, some unit leaders are oblivious to models under their own noses, and they give good people and good deeds no promotion, publicity or encouragement. Some units for the sake of "balanced relationships" even failed to single out advanced models. As a result, the initiative of the masses is held back and their work always lags behind.

This tendency also is a symptom of weakness and laxness in ideological work. This is mainly due to the apprehensions of leading cadres: they are afraid that if they praise a certain individual, then someone else may not be convinced and may begin to gossip and be disgruntled; they fear that if problems arise with their models, they themselves will have to take the blame, and so on. They will plant neither thorns nor flowers, and thus they avoid creating problems. Such mentality is inappropriate for our present situation and for the duties which we shoulder.

Praising the advanced and using advanced models to promote the overall situation is a work method and a leadership art persistently advocated by Chairman Mao. It is also an important technique for bringing positive elements into play. Wise leaders, in addition to "having the whole situation in mind," always have "models at their fingertips." Because advanced models are the banners which lead the way, "by lighting a single lamp" one can "illuminate a whole area."

Furthermore, praise and criticism are complementary to each other. If we say that not to criticize is not to distinguish between right and wrong, then not to praise is not to distinguish between excellence and inferiority. Therefore there will be no differentiation in the quantity and quality of one's work. The inevitable outcome is a pool of stagnant water. Praise is not merely an encouragement to the advanced, it is also a spur to those who are content with the status quo and to those who do not seek to move forward; moreover, it is an indirect criticism to

those who lag behind. Under the same conditions, why is it that someone can do well whereas you can not? By comparing and questioning, one sees the disparities. The average person will be stimulated to advance; the one trailing behind will be spurred to catch up, thereby creating the lively situation of one horse taking the lead and ten thousand horses galloping ahead at full speed.

Daring to praise the advanced hinges on the leadership. Leading cadres need only to act in the public spirit and be unafraid of the clamor and risks; they need only seek truth from facts. The models they support will live up to their expectation and pass the test of time.

Forthright praise of the advanced is a forceful ideological weapon in our political-ideological work, and each of our leading cadres and political cadres should positively grasp this weapon. At present, in the struggle against bourgeois liberalization, we must pay special attention to publicizing those advanced models who practice the party line, who work hard, and who are highly effective. We should also give publicity to those model individuals who persevere in the four basic principles, dare to struggle with mistaken political views, and rectify evil influences. Toward those few people who are jealous, and who ridicule and pick on the mistakes of advanced individuals, we should engage them in serious education through criticism in order to form a fine atmosphere in which everyone emulates the advanced, catches up with the advanced, and fights for advances.

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CSO: 4005/233

PARTY AND STATE

NEED TO INSTITUTIONALIZE EDUCATION IN FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES STRESSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 7 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Bao Yaofa [0545 5069 3127] and Xiang Youwei [7309 0645 3555]: "Education in 'Four Upholds' Must Be Institutionalized, and Conducted Regularly and in Concrete Terms"]

[Text] From beginning to end, the "Resolution on Certain Questions Concerning the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" is pervaded with emphasis on the four basic principles. It states: "The four basic principles constitute a common basis for the entire party and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to achieve unity, as well as a fundamental guarantee for success in developing the socialist modernization program. All statements and behavior that deviate from the four basic principles are wrong. Statements and behavior that negate and undermine the four basic principles cannot be tolerated." This statement is very impressive. Facts about education in the "four upholds" conducted by plants in Wuxi Municipality over the past 2 years show that whenever they came to firm grips with education in the "four upholds," they were able to achieve ideological unanimity better than ever, a healthy air would prevail, and they could make progress in their work. Otherwise, ideological problems among the cadres and workers would tend to exacerbate, an evil wind would gain the upper hand and, production and other work would suffer. Then, what ways can be devised to deepen education in the "four upholds" in a sustained way, institutionalize it, and carry it out regularly, vividly, and graphically? Findings from experiments in this field can be summarized into the following points:

[1] As a step toward institutionalizing education in the "four upholds," plans should be worked out to educate workers in Marxist-Leninist theory and to offer them basic courses in the recent history of China and the history of the party.

In accordance with Lenin's teaching on "educating" workers in socialism, education in the "four upholds" calls for plans and measures to systematically convey basic knowledge to them. Only after the broad masses of workers have acquired basic theoretical and historical knowledge can they gradually raise their awareness of the "four upholds." Since last year, many plants throughout the municipality have offered cadres and workers basic courses in economics in a well-planned way through the holding of training in rotation, on-the-job and sparetime study classes, and theoretical forums. In the end, they have deepened their understanding of the line, principles, and policies adopted since the Third Plenary Session

of the 11th Party Central Committee, and have become more determined than ever to follow the socialist path. The courses in the recent history of China and the history of the party are mainly designed to "acquaint youths with history" and to improve their knowledge of history. Since last year, textile mills in Wuxi Municipality have educated young workers about the treaties of national betrayal signed by China since the Opium War, and have explained to them how China was reduced to a miserable semicolonial and semifeudal status during the past century. The aim is to lead them to know the recent history of China and the history of the party and to understand that without the Chinese Communist Party, there would have been no new China, and that only socialism can save China. In the past, those youths who did not know history often became disillusioned with life and considered education offered by old workers to be unconvincing. Today, they say from the bottom of their hearts: "We had taken our present happy life for granted. Without the Communist Party, we would have suffered as our parents did before us."

[2] Regular education in the "four upholds" calls for studying important documents and publicizing major events.

Education in the four basic principles must embody the study and implementation of the party's line, principles, and policies in conjunction with the Central Committee's important documents and the major events in political and economic life. Early this year, in the course of centering their efforts on implementing the guidelines of the Central Work Conference held in December 1980, and in response to the erroneous notion harbored by some workers that the party's current policies adopted since the Third Plenum represented a deviation from the correct path to the right, many plants led these workers to reason things out and to distinguish right from wrong through a study of relevant documents and the current situation. They also led the workers to understand that the series of lines, principles, and policies adopted by the Party Central Committee since the Third Plenum are correct, and that with the party's basic policy remaining unchanged, its specific policies must be subjected to changes in their implementation until they become perfect, and this flexibility is compatible with socialist principles. This has led them to become more determined than ever to follow the socialist course. Since the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, many plants have mounted campaigns to study the "Historical Resolution" as the best teaching material on the "four upholds" and have sponsored training in rotation, given lectures, and offered other forms of instruction in order to make this extensive propaganda and education program a success. For example, plants under the municipal bureau of chemical engineering have concentrated on "establishing the historical role of Comrade Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought" as a central issue of study. In doing so, they have organized cadres and workers to discuss at great lengths such topics as what Mao Zedong Thought means and how it grew and developed in conjunction with what they really had in mind. In this way, they have come to understand that Mao Zedong Thought cannot be viewed as the thought of Comrade Mao Zedong alone, and that a clear distinction must be drawn between the mistakes committed by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years and Mao Zedong Thought. Finally, the idea that Mao Zedong Thought should forever be regarded as our party's guiding ideology prevailed. As a result of a review and free discussion of the history of the past 32 years since the founding of the PRC, organized by plants under the municipal bureau of machine-building industry

in connection with a forum focusing on the "superiority of the socialist system," workers have deepened their understanding of this system.

[3] Education in the "four upholds" must take a vivid, lively, and attractive form and must embody audiovisual education.

Comparable education which leads people to take note of differences through comparison is a good method for enhancing education in the "four upholds." Last year, the Wuxi Wire and Cable Plant faced questions raised by its workers such as: Why does our country, under a superior socialist system, lag behind others (meaning capitalist countries)? Why do our standards of living fall behind others, and why can't we enjoy more democracy than they do? In accordance with a policy that emphasizes reasoning and persuasion, this plant adopted comparable education with well-defined objectives in mind. For example, it countered the idea that we have lagged behind others in terms of development with a comparison that covers "30 years" or "300 years"; it countered the idea that our standards of living are lower than others with a comparison between the two different systems; and it countered the idea that we enjoy less democracy than others by comparing genuine and sham democracies. Such comparisons have led them to understand that developments cannot be rated without taking into account the economic base and the historical background; standards of living cannot be evaluated without taking into account our status as masters of our own country; observations of democracy and freedom must depend on the nature of the social system. In the end, they achieved a correct understanding of the nature of socialism and capitalism and strengthened their conviction to take the socialist path. The Wuxi Silk Filature Mill has produced better results in educating young workers in the history of the party in much the same way as a storyteller would do. A special force has been organized by its party committee to present, in story form, lectures on the five different historical periods of the party's growth. In the course of presenting the lectures on the history of the party and arguing the case, it has suggested that at the end of its delivery, each story should be discussed in an organized way, and in the course of the discussion efforts should be made to solve particular problems in connection with actual situations. Meanwhile, the plant has adopted the following methods for this form of education: 1) It has accompanied lectures on the history of the party with stories about struggles waged by the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation. 2) It has coupled the lectures on the history of the party with film stories about revolutionary struggles. 3) It has combined lectures on the history of the party with stories about model figures who have emerged since the birth of new China. Commenting on such lectures, young workers said unanimously that lectures on the history of the party that are presented in such a fresh and lively manner and in such concrete and impressive terms can be easily understood and memorized by them and can take a deep root in their minds. Some plants have mobilized workers to develop "love the motherland, love factories, and love work" activities along with campaigns to "make contributions to the four modernizations program" and to "win the honor of shock workers on the new long march," so that they can translate their consciousness of love for their socialist motherland into solid action and can serve it well in their present posts. Some units have organized party members to broaden the activity to bring additional grace and honor to the image of the party. After restudying the oath they took when they were sworn in as party members, and after reviewing what they have accomplished, they have consciously rectified unhealthy styles of work and have taken the initiative to serve the masses and strengthen the ties between the party and the masses.

PARTY AND STATE

PARTY MEMBERS NEED CREATIVITY, INITIATIVE, DISCIPLINE

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 31 Oct 81 p 3

[Article by Xin Chun and Jin Xi [6580 2504 and 6930 3556]: "Discipline Strict and Clear, Full of Vigor and Vitality"]

[Text] The Sixth Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee drew clear conclusions about questions of the past, and we have all the great political principles for carrying out construction of the four socialist modernizations. At present, the important thing is to arouse our spirits, work soundly, and improve the economy, while at the same time constructing a socialist spiritual civilization. To this end, we must firmly maintain the unity of creativity and discipline. Only in this way can we advance with vigor and vitality and successfully scale the "heights of the Jade Emperor."

The purpose of the proletarian party in power establishing strict discipline lies in guaranteeing the unity of the party, consolidating the connections between the party and the masses, thoroughly implementing the line, principles, and policies of the party, and victoriously completing the central tasks at every stage. Lenin once said that the basic reasons why the newborn Soviet regime was able to defeat its fierce, tenacious enemies and accomplish an historic miracle "lay in the centralized system, in discipline, and in an unprecedented spirit of self-sacrifice." Today, we want to build a strong, modern, socialist nation. This is a tremendous task never accomplished by those who came before us, and will be a widespread and profound revolution requiring the strong leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Strict inner-party life and strong organizational discipline on the part of party members constitute a forceful guarantee that the unified will and unified action of the entire party will be achieved and that our core leadership role will be developed fully. Just as Marx and Engels pointed out in criticizing the tide of anarchism, a party in power must have a united and directed will and must maintain absolute party discipline, or else it can accomplish nothing.

Strictly adhering to the rules and regulations of the party, of course, does not mean blindly and mechanically implementing directives from superiors, but rather it should mean intimately coordinating the specific conditions in one's prefecture, department, and unit and, beginning from these actual situations, creatively carrying out the directives of superiors. The reasoning behind this is quite simple. It is because our cause is a whole, because we have a united struggle objective, because our nation has a vast territory with widely differing situations

and where the work development has been uneven, and because, in the new historical period, various new situations will appear. This requires that one be good at summarizing both the positive and the negative experiences of one's prefecture, department, and unit in accordance with the principles of the Party Central Committee, that one carry out systematic and detailed survey research, clarify conditions, and seriously combine the directives of the Central Committee with the reality of one's prefecture and department, and that one set the vigorous and effective people's organizations to work solving the actual problems involved in construction of the four modernizations. Only this can be called highly effective and seeking truth from facts. Comrade Mao Zedong early on criticized the formalistic attitude of purely carrying out the ideas of "superiors" without regard to actual conditions, pointing out that "it is a most marvelous method of opposing or slowing down the implementation of the directives of superiors." We must take this as a prohibition.

If we want to combine the principles and policies of the Central Committee with the specific conditions of our prefectures, departments, and units, then the broad party members must fully develop their initiative and creativity. After the Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee, the Central Committee raised four points with the localities. They were: localities can think of things that the Central Committee has not thought of; if localities see the opportunity, they can act even though the Central Committee has not directed them to act; if what the Central Committee says is not suited to local conditions, the localities can make adjustments in dealing with matters; if the Central Committee is mistaken in its decisions, the localities can contest them. The spirit of these four points also applies in principle to the way lower levels handle directives and resolutions from those above. These four words: "think," "act," "adjust," and "contest" state in lively form the initiative and creativity that a Communist Party member should have. Of course, according to organizational principles, these points must all be reported to superiors or to the Central Committee in order to seek further instructions. This is the organizational discipline of the party. We want to unite the development of initiative and creativity with strict organizational discipline on the principle of consciously executed democratic centralism. In party meetings, every party member can fully express his opinions, including matters that superiors have not considered and possibly mistaken decisions made by superiors. All of these can be discussed if one wishes, but one cannot simply say whatever one would like to say or do whatever one would like to do. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Inner-party democracy is supposed to be for the purpose of consolidating discipline and strengthening our fighting capacity, and not to weaken this discipline and fighting capacity." Some matters, in terms of parts of the whole, are permissible, but in terms of the whole itself they are not permissible. This is a matter of taking care of the overall situation and serving the whole. Reporting to and seeking instructions from superiors is an excellent way to solve this problem. Still, in some matters, when time is pressing and one must make a decision immediately but there are two opinions or plans being argued and no one wishes to yield, one should report to and seek instructions from higher levels so that an early decision can be reached and rapid action taken. We can see that the purpose of reporting to and seeking instructions from superiors is to amass correct opinions and request that the superiors provide directions in a timely fashion, establishing for us a complete, overall picture so that work can be done even better. Of course, if we lose the spirit of independence and

responsibility and forget our system of collective leadership and shared work responsibility, if matters are not analyzed in detail, if everything is reported to superiors in seeking instructions, and if no one takes charge of anything, then we are just stumbling over our own feet.

We want to build advanced socialist material and spiritual civilizations. Without a large group of reformers and men of action who dare to think and act and who lead the masses in struggle, this incomparably glorious task cannot be completed. On just this foundation, the Party Central Committee once again has emphasized that the most basic component of the party's leadership of national life is organizing and supporting the people as masters of the house in building a new socialist life. We engage in creative work basically for the benefit of the people in order to rely closely on the masses, to ceaselessly probe what is not yet understood in the realm of necessity, and actively to remake the world. But a correct understanding cannot come about in a moment's time. If we do not allow people in the course of exploration to travel winding roads and to run into problems on their own, then this is tantamount to negating initiative and creativity itself. Therefore, it is difficult to avoid traveling winding roads and running into problems in the course of working creatively. But by adopting the dialectical materialist standpoint of "upholding truth and correcting mistakes," traveling winding roads and running into problems will become a source of wealth. We don't know how many times better it is to have such people than to have those who do not use their heads and who waste their days doing nothing. Of course, this requires that we work hard, study diligently and, as far as possible, place our work on a scientific track and fight for new discoveries and creations in the course of the construction of socialist modernization.

We should point out that at present there are some comrades who are extremely particular about ensuring numerical factors in their work. They seek stability in all matters, fear only innovation, do not "think," "act," "adjust," and "contest," but rather "postpone," "rely," "desire," and "wait." We understand that one of the reasons for this attitude of having something to say but stumbling over the words and wanting to move but stumbling instead is "the experience of many years that the rafter that protrudes is the first to crumble." These words contain a certain amount of bitterness from the past, but present circumstances are basically different from those of the past. Our party has already correctly summarized both the positive and the negative lessons of the past and established the correct line, principles, and policies. We have already clearly indicated that for all problems within the party and the ranks of the people which do not fall within the scope of class struggle, we must adopt methods different from those used in the case of class struggle, in order to find solutions. Under no circumstances will we allow a chaotic situation along the lines of the "Great Cultural Revolution" to occur again. As for our criticizing in appropriate measure mistakes and shortcomings, this stems from our loving concern for our cadres. For a Communist Party member, sworn to struggle all his life for communism, can there be any ideas that are ill suited to the needs of the people that he would be unwilling to give up? Can there be any reason for not actively and realistically taking the initiative in action?

The developing of initiative and creativity and the strengthening of organizational character and discipline should be combined in a Communist Party member and can be completely united. Herein lies the party character of a Communist Party member. The characteristics indicative of acting with a proletarian party character are seeking truth from facts and having a dialectical materialist world view. Only by establishing such understanding and such party character can the development of initiative and creativity and the strengthening of organizational character and discipline be united.

Having strict and clear discipline and being full of vigor and vitality are the historic wellsprings of the fighting capacity of our party. Today we are carrying out the construction of socialist modernization--a task which is complex and full of difficulties. It especially requires that we combine a vigorous creative spirit and truly iron discipline in order to guarantee victorious progress in our great task.

9705

CSO: 4005/334

PARTY AND STATE

LARGE-SCALE POLITICAL MOVEMENTS SAID NO SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS

Beijing LIAOWANG [OBSERVATION POST] in Chinese No 7, 20 Sep 81 p 8

[Article by Yin Guoan [3009 0948 1344] and Jiang Zhenggao [1203 2973 7559]: "Is It Another Political Campaign?"]

[Text] After the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made the decision to shift the focus of work, our party resolutely ceased using the slogan "Take class struggle as the key link" and terminated the former large-scale mass "political campaigns" which took "class struggle" as the substance. But recently we have often heard people saying that "there will be more political campaigns." The "basis" for this kind of talk is that criticism is being conducted against bourgeois liberalization on the ideological front, a struggle is being vigorously waged against incorrect workstyles within the party and in economic fields, and a handful of criminals have been severely and quickly punished. All these are necessary measures which should be taken to uphold the four basic principles, maintain political stability and safeguard the smooth progress of socialist modernization. There is nothing in common here with those manmade, and enlarged "political campaigns" which would do harm to the four modernizations. Why should people talk about "another political campaign"?

Our study shows that such talk generally comes from the following three kinds of people:

First, some people find themselves in trouble and hope to see no movements of any kind. When they heard that "there will be no more movements," they began to think that in the future they could be free and unrestrained, and could do anything they wished. "Since no movement will come about, what can they do to me?" Therefore, they have become increasingly bold in doing wrong and even bad things. Indeed, nothing was done to them during those "movements" in the past, and at present no movement is being launched; there is only some criticism and struggle, but this hits their sore spot and harms their personal interests. Therefore, they are full of grievances and talk resentfully about "another political campaign," hinting that our party is going back on its word. They confuse the correct measures taken by our party to uphold the four basic principles with those "political movements" of the past, in order to take "no more movements" as their "protective talisman."

Second, some people earned "a living from political movements" for many years, and they became aware of the benefits of such "movements" in the past from actually receiving such benefits. They suffer from the chronic and stubborn ailment of leftist deviation and are prone to look for signs of disturbance from the "left" side. They always doubt and even oppose the strategic decisions of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, and believe that eventually the time again will come "to take class struggle as the key link." When they see that we are paying serious attention to the struggle against liberalization and incorrect styles of work, as well as against criminal acts, they immediately think of "another political campaign" and also wish to "fully display their talents" in this "political movement."

Third, some people have a lot of complaints about the tendency toward liberalization, feel very disgusted with incorrect styles of work, and bitterly hate all criminal acts. They have long hoped that the central authorities would decide to tackle this problem; however, they failed to recognize correctly the real cause for the occurrence of such cases, and therefore they could not find the proper means to solve the problem. They wrongly thought that it was "no more movements" which had brought about liberalization and incorrect workstyles, and they had no faith that the problem could be solved by means of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and by means of party discipline and law. As far as these comrades could see, "it is necessary to launch a political campaign" to solve this problem.

When the above three kinds of people say that "another political campaign is coming," they have different purposes, meanings, and sentiments. They do have one thing in common, however, and that is: they misinterpret the decisions made by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and misunderstand the series of correct measures taken by our party to uphold the four basic principles.

The decisions of the Third Plenary Session do not contradict the series of measures [being taken] at present to criticize liberalization, oppose incorrect styles of work, and crack down on criminal activities. Those manmade, enlarged "political campaigns" of the past did great harm to socialist construction and made us suffer severely. We certainly cannot afford to go through the same suffering again. We will have no more such "movements" in order to truly shift the focus of our work and safeguard the smooth progress of the four modernizations. Some people indiscriminately avoid as a taboo the word "movement," disregarding whether it is beneficial to the four modernizations. They have even changed the name of the "patriotic health movement" to an "activity." In essence, they have not correctly understood the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. The fact that we will not launch any more political movements like those of the past certainly does not mean that we will allow the tendency toward liberalization in opposition to the four basic principles to spread unchecked, that we will shut our eyes to such incorrect styles of work and undermine our party's fine tradition, or that we will be indifferent to criminal acts which disrupt the four modernizations. To uphold the four basic principles, it is extremely necessary to criticize and combat all kinds of wrong trends and bad phenomena. Of course, in criticizing and combating them, we must strictly distinguish between the two different types of contradictions and, according to

the requirements of political life within our party and the procedure laid down in the Constitution and in law, adopt proper measures to solve any and all problems. All these [measures] are poles asunder from those "political campaigns" which confuse us and the enemy and turn things upside down.

Some comrades argue that to solve problems of liberalization and incorrect styles of work, "we simply must launch campaigns." This is a muddled idea. We should know that objective things are complex and concrete. We cannot solve all concrete problems by "taking the same approach toward them all." Even on some general issues, it is not proper to raise a hue and cry and launch a "mass movement." Facts have proved that in those years in the past when political campaigns never ceased, no problems were really solved but, on the contrary, they all piled up without resolution. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, although we have not launched any particular campaign, we have solved many problems in a down-to-earth manner by means of correct policies and methods. It is thus clear that in order to eliminate all obstacles to the cause of the four modernizations, we certainly need not rely on political movements. By launching massive political campaigns [as we did] the past, we would only create confusion in our ranks and disperse our energy in achieving the four modernizations. It would not, in the slightest degree, help resolve any problems.

In a word, the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee made the correct decision to shift the focus of work. Recently our party has also carried out necessary struggles on all fronts to uphold the four basic principles. The talk about "launching further political campaigns" has no foundation. We must seriously study the spirit of the Third and Sixth Plenary Sessions of the 11th Party Central Committee, truly identify our understanding with the Party Central Committee, and keep in step to win new victories of socialist revolution and construction.

9039

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PARTY AND STATE

UNHEALTHY TENDENCIES DEEMED CERTAIN OF RECTIFICATION

Guangzhou NANFANG RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 81 p 1

[Article by Commentator: "There Is No Doubt Unhealthy Tendencies Can Be Rectified"]

[Text] Recently, the party committee and the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in Xinhui county dealt severely with the case of Comrade Zhang Yongshu [1728 3059 2873] who was found guilty of taking advantage of his position to make personal gains by illegally building a "garden villa" for himself. The whole case, which took only two months to settle, was dealt with at a speed seldom seen in recent years. This incident serves to prove that the party has the capability to engage in combat and that unhealthy tendencies can be rectified.

In dealing with the wrongdoings of Zhang Yongshu in a serious manner, the party committee of Xinhui county has demonstrated that the rectification of unhealthy tendencies requires the united efforts of the entire party, the cooperation from various quarters and, most crucially, the serious attention of those in leadership positions at various levels. So long as they attach due importance to a problem and are determined to deal with it in a serious manner, there is no doubt that it is possible to achieve the desired results. In dealing with the offense of Zhang Yongshu, the party committee of Xinhui county, unlike certain people in leadership positions who tend to retreat in the face of difficulties and to allow a case to drag on or even to cover up the wrongdoings and come to the defense of the guilty party, organized a strong investigation team, cooperated closely with the masses, investigated the case in a thorough manner, established the facts and proceeded to criticize and educate the comrade who had fallen into evil ways in an exhaustive but benevolent manner and to deal with the case promptly and firmly on the basis of facts. By so doing, the party committee served to uphold party discipline, dealt a serious blow to corrupt tendencies, gave the sense of justice a shot in the arm, educated the cadres and won the support of the masses.

At the present time, there are still those who are guilty of serious corrupt practices who, after their wrongdoings have been exposed by the masses, continue to make themselves out to be "heroes" and who, with great hauteur and arrogance, consider themselves so resourceful that they can defy the authority of the party organization. They take full advantage of the weakness and laxity and the lack of determination on the part of those in leadership positions. The more the people in leadership positions appease and accommodate them, the more audacious they become. Comrade Zhang Yongshu is one of those who belong to this category. However, when those in leadership positions in the party committee in Xinhui county stiffened their backs and dealt with the case in a serious and correct manner, justice put perversity to rout and evil tendencies were effectively brought to a

halt. The experience gained by the party committee in Xinhui county serves as an object lesson on the way to engage in a struggle against unhealthy tendencies.

At present, there are still those who indulge in corrupt practices who think that, although subjected to criticism for their wrongdoings, they can expect to continue to enjoy the fruits of their misdeeds after a period of investigation. Zhang Yongshu is one of those who indulge in such fantasies. He had thought that since the "garden villa" was his "personal property," nobody could take it away from him and that he could still "continue to live in comfort" after disciplinary action had been taken. This fantasy has gone up in smoke. Not only was party disciplinary action taken against him, but he was also made to suffer financially. The "garden villa" which he had acquired at such great pains has now been confiscated. All the money that he had paid for which a proper receipt had been issued is being kept by the recipients so that he himself ended up with nothing. Thus, those who indulge in corrupt practices should learn this lesson from the wrongdoings of Zhang Yongshu: It is only by accepting criticism, engaging in self-criticism in the right spirit and by making proper amends for their wrongdoings that they can expect to be forgiven by the people. To persist in one's wrongdoings regardless of the consequences is to court punitive party disciplinary action.

9621

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PARTY AND STATE

BUREAUCRATIC INEFFICIENCIES, 'WRANGLING' CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 81 p 5

[Article by Mu Xin [3668 6580] and Bai Sun [4101 7157]: "When Will 'Wrangling' End?"]

[Text] "Wrangling" is an important reflection of bureaucratism. People are tired of bureaucratism, and especially tired of wrangling.

Wrangling is a modern term, but the phenomenon has long prevailed in antiquity. The well-known "Su Moling of the Tang Dynasty was nothing more than a master at wrangling. What he advocated--making one's speech vague and one's way of doing things perfunctory and equivocal--may be said to be the ancient theory of wrangling. By later times, perhaps because the practice of wrangling had become more popular and those who resorted to wrangling also became more numerous, even Mr Li Zhi of the Ming Dynasty began to sigh: "Today, Moling's family name is no longer Su."

After the smashing of the "gang of four," the vast ranks of the masses urgently demanded an acceleration of the pace of our socialist construction. They have naturally been very dissatisfied by the dragging, tedious, and irresponsible style of our work. During the past few years, people have said a great many words, written a great many articles, and drawn a great many cartoons sharply criticizing this ugly phenomenon. Nevertheless, things have not changed conspicuously for the better, and cases of wrangling can still be easily cited everywhere.

One comrade has resided apart from his loved one for nearly 20 years. Solving this problem tallies with prevailing policy, and conditions for the solution existed, but it still took him a period of time equivalent to the duration of the anti-Japanese war from the day he submitted his application to the time he was transferred to the place [where he could be] together with his loved one.

A factory director was transferred from one enterprise to another. A distance of less than an hour's walk separates the two units, but going through the transfer procedures alone took him 2 and a half months.

A certain city needed to take over some land to build housing. From the submission of the report to the actual requisition of the needed land, the document traveled from one organization to another until it bore a total of 39 big seal prints.

In the above examples, while the transactions traversed "ten thousand rivers and one thousand mountains," at least they all reached relatively satisfactory conclusions.

But no one knows how many others are still being subject to endless wrangling. In the case of some matters, those above have clearly nodded their approval already, but wrangling still cannot be stopped, and after a lapse of 1 year, and then of 2 years, those matters somehow have remained intact. Even if some people had chosen to step forward to intervene, criticize, and study where the bottleneck lay and who were responsible, it proved, after repeated investigations, often difficult for them to get any clear answers.

Why should some things which ordinarily are not very complicated to handle, or even are rather simple, become so "difficult" once they reach the hands of some of our units and our comrades?

Let us analyze the abovementioned situation in which a document had to be stamped with 30 large seals. According to established statistics, seals No 1 through 6 were invoked during the preparatory stage before the land requisition, seals No 7 through 13 were stamped during the application and report stage, seals No 14 through 21 played their role during the stage when the land requisition questionnaire was filled out, and after this the stage of formal approval still had to be passed before seals No 27 through 39 could be invoked in the stage of concrete implementation. The transaction of this matter involved 10 units, but in being tossed back and forth it had to cross 39 thresholds. If only one of those thresholds had been a bottleneck, the matter would have become pigeonholed or even shortlived. With organizations so redundantly stacked and procedures so intricately minute, if such a system and such specific faults pertaining to it are not reformed, how can operational efficiency ever be improved?

We may also list some of the reasons in this regard. For instance, because our organizations, entrepreneurial units, and public institutions still lack strict administrative rules and a system of responsibility, and cadres' duties and powers are therefore not clearly delineated, it often happens that those who have power don't have anything to do, while those who do things don't have the necessary power. Since some comrades cannot independently and responsibly deal with the problems they should, the only thing they can do is to supplicate level after level for guidance and submit a report on everything. At the same time, because of this lack of a wholesome system and strict discipline, some of our organizations or even individual officials have a considerable "veto" power. Even in the case of matters in the process of being made operational according to established decisions, once a slight difference of opinion interferes, they often can be held back, pushed aside, or suppressed, and the unit(s) in charge can do nothing.

As for the problems in some comrades' thinking and workstyle, they are of course another important reason why this practice of wrangling has not been able to be changed for so long. We should admit that after 10 years of turmoil, the quality of the ranks of our cadres has really gone down. Among some comrades, there has been either a decline in their revolutionary will, an inflation of individualism, a worsening of departmentalism, or a failure to eliminate factionalist influence. Some people are always making diverse petty calculations in their minds. When personal matters, matters of "connected personalities," and matters of small cliques are involved, they can exert all their resourcefulness and go all out to manipulate them without yielding a single inch. When state affairs and affairs of the masses are involved, then they become rather perfunctory and show little interest. With respect to matters as small as concrete difficulties in the masses' lives or as

great as millions in losses in state property, they can invariably pass the buck or drag their feet, mumble unintelligibly or laugh indifferently about them, become perfunctory, or remain unmoved in their usual bureaucratic manner in coping with them. And among these antics, we should also be bigilant about situations in which people cover up their "resistance" with "footdragging." Don't we have certain people who violate and resist the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and with respect to the Central Committee's principles and policies, "hold out against them without compliance" by means of wrangling?

In a pamphlet, I saw a story about Lenin. In May 1919, a contingent of peasants submitted an appeal to the Soviet People's Commissariat complaining that local governments were requisitioning their horses at random. The General Affairs Division of the People's Commissariat turned the appeal over to the mobilization committee of the field command headquarters, and the mobilization committee in turn transmitted it to the special committee on capital affairs. This committee finally returned the appeal to the People's Commissariat with a notation attached to the envelope: "Our work is too busy for us to have any time to bother about such trivialities." This matter came to Lenin's attention. Lenin immediately sent the appeal to the state supervisory department and also personally wrote a note: "Please arrest the bureaucrat who attached this notation."

In quoting this story about Lenin, I of course am not proposing to have all wranglers arrested. Our present situation is far more complicated, and no simple method can be used to solve the problem of bureaucratism. But shouldn't Lenin's attitude of abhorring bureaucratism cause some of our comrades to reflect deeply? Whether in our internal work or in international dealings, such wrangling workstyles of disregarding efficiency, ignoring responsibility, passing the buck back and forth, and being dilatory in handling things have already become quite intolerable. If we still let them continue as usual, without our adopting any resolute measures to carry out work with respect both to the system and its institutions and to people's ideology and workstyle, and thereby achieve some improvement, then we will only be able to crawl forward in endless wrangling and we will accordingly have to pay a heavy price for it.

9255

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SUPPORT FOR PARTY PRINCIPLES, POLICIES EMPHASIZED

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Hou Mingxun [0186 2494 8113]: "Broad Principles Are Certain To Find Acceptance"]

[Text] While being held up somewhere between the states of Chen and Cai, Confucius put this question to his disciple Yan Hui: "Hui, according to the Book of Odes, 'anything that is neither fish nor fowl is bound to be rejected.' Isn't it true that my principles are of an unorthodox nature?" Yan Hui replied: "Master, it is because your principles are of such breadth that they have found no acceptance. However, as long as my master continues to stand by his principles, what does it matter whether or not they are accepted? The fact that they are not accepted only goes to prove that you are a man of principle! It is my fault if your principles are not being taken seriously, but it is the fault of those holding the reins of government if your principles are taken seriously but are not being implemented. Does it matter if they are not accepted? The fact that they are not accepted only goes to show that the man who formulated such principles is a man of virtue." ("Historical Records: The Family of Confucius").

Yan Hui's answer was most ingenious. It was philosophical and at the same time complimentary to his master. However, upon careful study, it is far from being satisfactory, because it failed to stress a most important point, namely, that if a principle is truly broad, profound and unassailable in every way, its nonacceptance is only temporary in nature and it will eventually find acceptance when times have changed and the understanding of the people has deepened. Many new ramifications of the truth, new scientific discoveries and new progressive ideas which have been adduced in an objective manner are rejected at the outset. Eventually, the truth is bound to prevail over an untruth, a view that is correct is bound to prevail over a view that is incorrect, and "nonacceptance" is bound to give way to "acceptance." Does that not apply to the "principles" of Confucius? Although his principles were initially rejected, they were eventually not only "accepted," but they came to be regarded as the most sacrosanct of yardsticks. Confucius has been venerated for thousands of years, and the unquestioning "acceptance" of his principles has taken on the dimensions of a superstition.

One question that suggests itself in this connection is what attitude we should take when a new truth that we espouse fails to gain the immediate acceptance of the people. One attitude is for us to resort to compromise, to flow with the

tide, to refrain from taking things too seriously, and to desist from waging a struggle in a positive manner. This is an attitude marked by a lack of determination to get ahead and is a reflection of Yan Hui's reply to the question put to him by Confucius: "It is because my master's principles are so broad that they have found no acceptance. Why does my master put the blame on himself?" Confucius was so incensed by Yan Hui for urging him not to put the blame on himself that he gave him a dressing down. "Instead of perfecting your principles, you seek to gain acceptance. If you are ready to concede, then your ambitions are indeed limited." Another attitude we can take is to "pursue our goal" without letup and to adhere firmly to the truth. This attitude is characterized by the spirit of upward mobility and a relentless struggle toward our goal. It is the kind of attitude which men of principle should take.

Today, we are in the process of carrying out the various principles and policies laid down by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in keeping with the spirit of the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. That is the "principle" we uphold today, a "principle" that is also the "greatest." Be that as it may, some comrades were at first not entirely clear as to what that principle meant. However, it did not take long before the people of our country came to embrace it with fervor. After the principle had been put to practical test for a while, those comrades who did not have a thorough understanding of the principle but who were not biased in their views were gradually enlightened and were "reconciled" to the principle. Because this "principle" is in agreement with the basic principles of Marxism, fits in with the circumstances of our country, is conducive to the consolidation and development of our socialist system and is an accurate reflection of the basic interests and aspirations of the entire people, it came to be accepted by the entire population. The series of policies and measures adopted by the Central Committee to combat such unhealthy practices as the abuse of special privileges constitute a part of this "principle." At first, some comrades ran afoul of this principle and were not accustomed to its application. However, instead of "whittling down" this "principle," we "put it into application" with resolution until those comrades gradually came to terms with it. In discussing the party's style, a comrade in a leadership position on the Central Committee made the remark that at present we are not concerned with the formulation of new regulations, since we already have all the regulations we need, but with the implementation of the regulations. In other words, we already have the "principle," a principle which is supreme and which is certain to find wholehearted acceptance by the people. There is no doubt that a supreme principle will come to be accepted. Our faith, therefore, remains unshaken in the party style, the four modernizations and the future of our nation.

9621

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WRITERS, ARTISTS URGED TO DELVE DEEPLY INTO LIFE

Tianjin TIANJIN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Oct 81 p 1

[Text] Recently, the Tianjin branch of the Fine Arts Association, under the leadership of the person responsible, organized workers in the field of fine arts to go into the villages in separate groups and at different times in order to learn and appreciate the vast changes which have taken place since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and so that they may reflect in their works the new look presented by the villages in this new era. This is something in which we may take justifiable pride. Not a few of our comrades have learned to appreciate the fact that in engaging in creative art, it is necessary to have a deep understanding of life as it is lived.

It is necessary for those engaging in literary work to delve deeply into life not only because there is a basic relationship between literature and life, but also because it represents one of the essential points of Mao Zedong Thought regarding literature. In Comrade Mao Zedong's "Address to a Literary Discussion Meeting at Yunnan," one important basic point he made was that literature and art are a reflection of life in human society, that life is the only source of literature and art, and that where the people themselves are their own masters, the proletarian class and the people's writers must delve deeply into the life of the people, particularly that of workers, farmers and soldiers, who comprise an overwhelming majority of the people. That is not only the responsibility but also a long sought privilege of writers and artists. Writers should take the stand of the proletarian class and the people and, through their literary and artistic creations, seek to unite, educate, and awaken the people, to move the people to action, to stir up and provide an impetus to the people, to wage a struggle against the enemy, to reform the old society and to establish a new life. Mao Zedong Thought has nurtured and given direction to a generation of writers who, through their alliance with the laborers and farmers, have produced a large body of excellent literary work. The basic spirit of Mao Zedong Thought is something to which we must hold at all times.

It is obvious that the emphasis we place on delving deeply into life has vital practical meaning. It is necessary to delve deeply into life not only because socialist literature demands it, but also because it promotes the creative endeavors and the healthy growth of workers in the field of literature. The situation in China is in a stage of development as time marches on. The people are in the process of establishing socialism and of setting it in motion. The

social life in our country is undergoing vast and profound changes in many areas. This is an exhilarating period, the likes of which have seldom been seen in our history of several thousand years. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted at the Sixth Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee drew a number of scientific conclusions regarding the "Great Cultural Revolution" and certain other problems since the establishment of the Chinese republic. We must put the errors of the past behind us so that the entire party and the entire people may work as one in establishing a modern socialist nation. It is the hope of the party and the people that in their creative efforts our writers and artists will emphasize the present struggle for the establishment of a new life. In such circumstances, it is obvious that what previous knowledge writers had of life is not sufficient. Unless they keep pace with the times, they will have great difficulty in depicting in a profound and lively way the life of the society and the spirit of the working people. For this reason it is incumbent upon writers and artists to fortify their spirit, to delve deeply into life, to acquaint themselves with the times, to have a knowledge of society, to understand the masses, to have a clear view of the entire situation, to have a firm grasp of the mainstream, to have a clear idea of what lies ahead, and to produce a larger quantity and a higher quality of work in order to stir up the people, to strengthen their will to continue the struggle and to bring prosperity to the nation.

In regard to the question of delving deeply into life, we have two different kinds of experience. Prior to the "Great Cultural Revolution," we tended to resort to simplistic methods. While the "Great Cultural Revolution" was in progress, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" herded all literary workers into the factories and the rural areas, using "delving deeply into life" as a means to persecute literary workers. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, we have sought to restore order and to undo the damage. Our purpose is to make it possible for writers to produce better works, but not to minimize the need for them to delve deeply into life. Our literary workers should give a positive response to the call of the Central Committee to delve deeply into life. Our literary and art departments at various levels must take it upon themselves to adopt different methods to organize and to give impetus to writers and artists to delve deeply into life. Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, facilities have been made available to writers and artists to delve deeply into life and to engage in work of a creative nature that truly reflects the situation as it is. If that is not sufficient to meet the purpose, further facilities should be made available. At any rate, we must, on the one hand, insist that writers and artists delve deeply into life and, on the other, avoid the adoption of arbitrary measures for the sake of uniformity.

The period in which we live is a glorious period. It is our hope that many more writers and artists will keep pace with the times and in touch with the people and will produce a greater quantity of work that is of a high quality.

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

PARTY COMMISSION CONDEMNS ABUSE OF 'CONNECTIONS'

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 1

[Text] The Chinese Communist Central Discipline Inspection Commission today transmitted to all areas a report written by a reporter of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY headlined "Leadership Cadres in Beijing Call on Everybody Concerned To Put an End to the Evil Practice of Wining and Dining," and issued a notification for general information calling for a determined effort to put an end to the evil practice of abusing "connections."

The notification states: "How shocking it is to read about the evil tendency of abusing 'connections' described in this report! This tendency has taken hold of many departments, enterprises and businesses throughout the nation. Under the pretext of promoting business, the culprits in minor cases indulge in wining and dining at public expense. In more serious cases, bribes are offered and accepted on the sly. This practice not only results in small and big economic losses of public assets, but, more seriously still, in undermining integrity in society and corrupting the minds of the people. Is the Communist Party to tolerate such evil practices? Can a socialist society permit such tendencies? Are we members of the Communist Party to remain unconcerned over such phenomena and to refrain from taking action to defend the party style and the style of the socialist society? Are we members of the Communist Party to concede that we are powerless to put an end once and for all to such corrupt and evil practices which damage the party and the cause of socialism? Is it not our historic mission as members of the Communist Party to wage a struggle against all evil forces for the benefit of the people and the cause of socialism?"

Describing this report as "a living lesson," the notification calls on all members of the Communist Party to make a determined effort to put an end to and wage a relentless struggle against such evil practices. Having seen examples of the corruption of the party style and the evil practices prevalent in society, all members of the Communist Party should make a determined effort to expose, to criticize and to bring such incidents to the attention of the local unit of the party organization so that action may be taken to educate, to criticize and even to take party disciplinary action against the culprits. So long as all party branches and leadership cadres at various levels take the interests of the party to heart, we are confident that, by using criticism and self-criticism, we can put the "god of pestilence" which battens on the abuse of "special connections" on the run.

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CSO: 4005/264

WRITER DENOUNCES IMPROPER PRACTICES IN PUBLICATION FIELD

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 81 p 3

[Text] Editor's Note: There is no denying that a state of confusion exists in such publications as dictionaries for editors, publishers and writers and who's who. The inclusion of personalities and their assessment are often lacking in a serious and correct attitude of responsibility to the readers. Some critiques of a self-serving nature are even written by the subjects themselves. This practice, which is resented by the readers, does not even serve to promote the healthy development of writers in general and of young writers in particular. The problem as outlined by Su Bixian [5685 1801 7359] (pen name Su Ye [5685 5509]) merits the attention of the parties concerned.

Letter From Comrade Su Bixian

Jiangsu Branch, China Writers' Association:

Please take note of the mysterious letter herewith enclosed.

I would not, of course, send such things as "biographies." That is not only because I am not a "famous young writer," but more particularly because I despise such vulgar practice. However, the problem does not lie in what attitude I personally take. I consider this practice a grossly absurd and undesirable phenomenon. Perhaps the Writers' Association should look into the matter jointly with the concerned departments.

First, it is questionable whether it is really necessary to issue special publications to give a boost to genuine "new literary lights" and "famous young writers" (including even self-descriptions of one's "facial features and characteristics" and one's "personality and bearing.") Second, why should the persons responsible ascribe such descriptions to "the concerned departments" and "the concerned publishing departments" instead of coming right out and identifying themselves (in the absence of official letterheads and official seals) and why must they insist on having an individual pen their accolades? Is the "compilation and writing section," which "receives its materials from the responsible persons and which

arranges for its editors to do the writing," really serving the interests of the "vast number of young lovers of literature"?

This is not the first time I have received such letters from out of the blue. I believe this is a phenomenon which merits our attention. I am bringing this to your attention with some of my views.

Su Bixian
27 September 1981

Enclosure 1: Letter of Manuscript Agreement

Respected Comrade Su Ye:

How are you!

With the support of the concerned parties in the publication field, we have organized a compilation and writing group to provide, at the proper time, the large number of readers at home and abroad with the biographical data of new luminaries who have made their mark in the literary field, and especially to provide the large number of young lovers of literature with a vivid model of how to break into the literary field. It is our intention to compile this year a book entitled "Road to Success Travelled by Noted Young Writers in Modern China," to be published next year. With the agreement of the parties concerned, you have been selected as one of the entries in this book. We are writing to request that at your early convenience you kindly send us your brief biography and a detailed description of the process of creation in the writing of your major works and the various pitfalls and difficulties that you have encountered on the way so that we may send you a draft for editing before the end of the year, for inclusion in a book to be published in the first quarter of next year.

We deeply regret having to intrude upon your busy schedule with this bothersome request. However, in view of the need to satisfy the urgent request of a large number of readers, and especially the large number of young lovers of literature, may we request that, for the sake of the readership and our own business requirements, you take the time to grant our request?

Thanking you for your support and awaiting your reply!

Compilation and Writing Section,
"Road to Success Travelled by Noted
Young Writers in Modern China"

(Address and Liaison: XX City XX Province, Office of the Drama Critic: XX)

25 September 1981

Enclosure 2: Main Points of Reference for Writing

1. "Road to Success Travelled by Noted Young Writers in Modern China" is not a stilted publication providing information on the life of writers and their works

or an old-fashioned dictionary on writers. Rather, it describes with a smile for the readership how, on their road to success, the principals use their sweat and tears to water the flowers of their imagination. It is a lively and novel work of reportorial literature jointly produced by the principals who "provide the materials" and editors who "compose the writing." For this reason, you are kindly requested to take note of this distinctive feature when sending us materials.

2. In general, attention should be paid to the following:

- 1) You should keep your biography to a suitable length and supply the basic information (including special physical and personal features) and basic facts on your family.
- 2) How did you come to be enamored of Lady Literature and how did you go after her in relentless pursuit?
- 3) Have you ever suffered the pains of unrequited love? In times of adversity, what happy and tragic moments have you known that are worth mentioning? What moving incidents have you encountered?
- 4) Have you ever had the experience of dealing with frosty-faced editors? How did you go about putting a smile on that frosty face?
- 5) Describe how your love of literature came to fruition (list of literary works) and other achievements (experiences and revelations).
- 6) What are your views on talent, application, opportunity and undesirable practices in the literary field? What mottoes do you have? What is your secret of success?
- 7) Anything else that, in your opinion, the readers should be told.

You are also requested to send us a recent photograph which best reveals your character and bearing for the benefit of the readers.

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CSO: 4005/264

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

OLD REVOLUTIONARIES ENCOURAGED TO WRITE THEIR MEMOIRS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Chen Yiyu [7115 0001 5038]: "Do A Better Job of Digging Up the Treasures--Several Suggestions for Writing Memoirs About the Revolution"]

[Text] It is an important task of the current study of modern history to mobilize and organize the older generation to write memoirs about the revolution and various other historical materials from memory, with a view to digging up the historical treasures hidden in people's minds.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, owing to the 10 years of turmoil, the development of this work had undergone a very great decline. But after the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, many old comrades, one after another, again picked up their pens and began to write with diligence. Throughout the country, historical circles, literary and art circles, and press and publication circles have also done a great deal of work and achieved very encouraging results.

For the acceleration, broadening, and deepening of the work of writing memoirs, I wish to offer the following views on certain current problems:

1. This Is a Rescue Mission

During the war years of the past, the fighting was very furious and the ranks of cadres were young. At that time there was very little talk about writing memoirs. After the liberation of the whole country, this task was formally placed on the agenda. However, in the 10-year turmoil, many veteran comrades who had personally gone through the revolution and knew its history very well were persecuted to death, and a great deal of valuable historical data were wantonly destroyed. Those veteran comrades who luckily survived are fairly advanced in age, and most are physically weak or sick. This shows that the task of writing memoirs about the revolution has become exceedingly urgent. We can say without the slightest exaggeration that this is an urgent rescue mission which confronts us.

Last spring, I received a letter from a comrade in Henan who is studying modern history. He said: "On my recent study tour, I went to many places, including Bengbu, Hefei, Chaoxian, Nanjing, and Shanghai, and visited 21 veteran comrades, such as...including seven comrades...who were seriously ill and could neither

write nor talk. From this tour of mine, I have come to realize profoundly what you said in Beijing about 'saving historical data'." Not long after I received this letter, [two] of the seven seriously ill comrades, comrades Yao Yunliang [1202 6663 5328] and Liang Guobin [2733 0948 2430], passed away. This Henan comrade cannot help but leave blank a part of the text of his research project.

Objective reality has shown us poignantly that if we don't take this task with the spirit and measure of urgency, many important historical data of the revolution will further disappear from our side.

We should not only save the historical data of the revolution but also earnestly salvage all valuable historical materials of the old society and of former political parties, governments, and armies. Only by having all data of both positive and negative aspects can we successfully carry out a scientific study of modern China's problems in the economic, political, military, and cultural fields.

"Don't let an opportunity slip; it may never come again." This statement is applicable to the writing of memoirs. Our motherland abounds in many and varied natural resources which should be developed and used for the four modernizations to bring benefit to the people. However, natural resources are of a different nature. Forests and crops which grow on the surface of the earth are regenerative resources and can reproduce themselves, and organic and inorganic mineral resources buried underground are preserved fairly permanently. If they are not exploited today, we can do so in the future. But the treasures of historical data stored in people's minds will be needlessly lost forever if they are not tapped promptly when there is the opportunity. In that case, "even should we go up into heaven and down into the earth, we will not find them in those two boundless places." Stamping one's foot and beating one's breast will be of no avail.

2. The Important Significance of Living Data

At present, some comrades in our historical circles call existing documents and material data "dead data" and the data in people's memory "living data." To facilitate the explanation of the problem, this distinction is permissible.

Both dead and living data are very important and should be collected earnestly; we should do rescue work on both. Here, we will analyze in particular the special significance of living data.

First, living data will make up the deficiencies of dead data. Although modern documentary data are much more abundant than those of ancient times, when we carefully study a certain event, a certain personage, or a certain issue, we always feel that there is an insufficient or incomplete basis, or very little vivid detail, and even a total blank, so that many disputed cases have remained unsettled. We have an urgent need to collect living data with an objective and in a planned way to make up the deficiencies.

Next, living data can effectively verify or confirm the dead data at hand. We have often found that there are clear contradictions between different data. For instance, concerning the issue of the second attack on Changsha in the fall of

1930, according to the recollections of some veteran comrades, Comrade Mao Zedong discovered rather quickly at that time that this decision of leftist adventurism was incorrect and he talked patiently against the scheme, which was finally changed. Owing to his relationship with the organization, however, Comrade Mao Zedong did participate in signing the order to march toward Changsha. If we rely simply on these documentary data, we will come to a conclusion that is contrary [to the truth]. As another example, on the question of sending Red Army advance units northward in July 1934 to resist the Japanese troops, according to recollections of responsible comrades of the older generation, at that time Comrade Mao Zedong had been pushed aside into a position of no real power, and this decision was made by the Party Central Committee dominated by Wang Ming and his leftist adventurism. However, on 31 July of the same year the newspaper HONGSE ZHONGHUA [RED CHINA] published a speech signed by Comrade Mao Zedong under the title: "The Current Situation and the Red Army Anti-Japanese Advance Units." If one relies simply on this document, one will also come to a conclusion that is different [from the truth]. There are so many similar instances. This shows that in making an objective analysis by comparing data from memory with documentary data, we will be able to make more realistic judgments on certain historical issues.

Moreover, living data will help us to conduct a flexible study of the questions left open in history. That is to say, we can carry out investigation and study by relying on those who personally experienced the historical events to make a textual research and analysis together with us, strive to clear up doubts and difficulties, or seek the knowledge of historical reality with greater accuracy, thoroughness, and depth.

Furthermore, revolutionary memoirs also have a direct significance, which can summarize revolutionary historical experience and carry forward the fine revolutionary tradition.

In a word, for the study of modern history, besides the great quantity of documents and material data, there are the eyewitnesses to history. They can provide first-hand data directly. This is a great advantage which is better than the study of ancient history. We should fully develop this advantage.

3. Persist in Seeking Truth from Facts and Write Directly and Impartially.

The most basic requirements for writing memoirs are to persist in seeking truth from facts and to write directly and impartially. Concerning everything in the past, we must respect historical facts and write history according to what actually occurred in history. Comrade Zhou Enlai said: "Only by being faithful to the facts can one be faithful to the truth." We must handle facts with accuracy before we can talk about expressing them in vivid writing and appraising them from a correct viewpoint.

"Seek truth from facts and write directly and impartially" is a guiding thought complete in itself. If we refuse to seek truth from facts but have prejudices in our minds or do as we please, then we cannot write very well in a direct and impartial way. In recalling and recording historical events, personages, or issues, and in passing judgments on them, we must always try to approach all

problems objectively and strive to conform to historical reality. Over a long period of time in the past, historical idealism and metaphysics sometimes ran wild. Particularly during the time of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," a very bad practice became common, and that was to freely distort and falsify history according to their counterrevolutionary political needs. There were people who always watched which way the wind was blowing in politics so that they could set the tone for themselves to write history. To praise a certain person, they would extol this person to the skies; to decry a certain person, they would beat this person down to hell. If one day the political wind should change direction, they could also throw a person from heaven down to hell or raise a person from hell to heaven. There was a so-called theory to extol historical events and persons by "covering up their faults and publicizing their merits," and to decry them by "covering up their merits and publicizing their faults." This gust of evil wind once spread all over the domain of literature and history when writers of history, memoirs, and memorial articles always took their cue from the changing wind. In recent years, the situation has changed fundamentally; however, we still cannot ignore the dissemination of errors and those who conceal their identity. In writing memoirs, we must continue to guard against and eliminate their influence.

Here we have the problem of serving reality. Promoting the writing of memoirs, of course, is not simply for the purpose of reminiscence but mainly to serve socialist reality. However, we must on no account willfully make up memoirs according to certain practical needs. Only by writing history strictly according to the facts can we find from them things that have a certain pattern, can we draw profitable experiences and lessons, and can we truly serve reality. Anything contrary to historical facts, deceiving the public and misleading the people, will only harm the serving of reality.

There is another problem concerning the relationship between history and historical figures. They cannot be separated from each other. In view of the difficulties and drawbacks which often appear in writing about historical figures, some people hold that in compiling modern history and writing memoirs, one should portray only the masses of people as the makers of history, and should try one's best to "avoid" writing about actual persons. As a matter of fact, this won't work. Man's activity is the principal part of social history, and all social activities are organized with leadership. Leaving out the necessary representative persons would to a certain degree be like denying history itself. We cannot refrain from doing something necessary for fear of a slight risk and fall into a tendency toward historical nihilism. What counts is to view historical figures by persistently seeking truth from facts--that is, according to historical materialism--and to correctly deal with the role of individuals in history.

In addition to the correct attitude of seeking truth from facts, we must have the bold spirit of writing directly and impartially. If we cannot free ourselves from all misgivings, or even still have lingering fears, then we will not be able to produce good memoirs. On several occasions in the history of our party, under leftist mistaken rule, with factionalism, a patriarchal system, deception by political trickery, and merciless attacks, many comrades who had the courage to speak without reservation were suppressed, pushed aside, and even framed up tragically. It is possible that some veteran comrades have such misgivings from the bottom of their hearts--[misgivings] which are in essence a traumatic

historical experience. However, we should see that in the history of our party, eventually right always triumphs over wrong, actions of speaking out with courage have always been beneficial to the party, to the state, and to the people, and comrades with the courage to speak out have always been respected by the people. There is no way to change past history, but things contrary to historical truth can never hold their ground. The "integrity of history" was stressed long ago in ancient China. Chinese people have always read with admiration the stories about Imperial Historian Bo of the Kingdom of Qi and others who wrote history directly and impartially at the risk of their lives during the Spring and Autumn Period [770-476 B.C.]. In the Tang Dynasty, the idea of "appreciating history through its candid writing" was propounded by the historian Liu Zhiji, who held that "good annals are valued for true records and candid writing," and laid stress on "the direct style of writing"; thus a good historian "should not cover up demerits or make up merits" and "should praise the good and denounce the wicked by showing no fear of strong pressure." Of course, in a society under the domination of the exploiting class, it is very difficult to really achieve this. Only under the guidance of our party's correct line of Marxism-Leninism will it be possible to truly initiate the writing of history directly and impartially, and to display the dauntless spirit of being faithful to true facts.

4. One Should Write Mainly About One's Personal Experiences

A person's memoirs should be his "personal" memoirs. This question may be viewed in two ways.

First, for the author, he should particularly write about his own personal experiences and things which he can understand, and should not put the stress [on things] beyond his personal experience. Writing one's personal memoirs is, after all, different from compiling history. Some memoirs which we have read are very magnificent pieces of writing but contain very little from one's personal experience; the greater part of such memoirs was copied from documentary material and other authors. Using the name personal memoirs but narrating a great deal of things which one has never experienced is not writing one's memoirs in the original sense, especially because it frequently lacks truth. For instance, in his memoirs a certain comrade described as a "renegade" a martyr who had laid down his life. [In so doing, the writer] was departing from his personal experience; he had made no conclusion on which to base his accusation. He has published his memoirs, which shows that he is inconsistent even in his own writing, relies upon hearsay instead of seeing for himself, writes rashly, and not only shows no respect for his comrade's political life but also brings about difficulties to the martyr's descendants. Writing memoirs is serious work. The writer must focus on his personal experiences and on facts he knows well; he must just write what is in his mind, no more and no less; he must write in simple, unadorned language; and he must never use a flashy style without substance.

Meanwhile, objectively we should also admit that in writing their personal memoirs, writers have different personal experiences, status, angles of vision, and viewpoints. Therefore it is difficult to avoid certain individual limitations. For instance, during the Agrarian Revolutionary War Period [1927-1937], the three leading persons at a certain base have different recollections of the history of this period. Such a situation is very common. We can neither

arbitrarily try to achieve a consensus, nor simply affirm or negate any one of them. The only way is to advocate that they complement each other and work in coordination. We suggest that all publications on our party's history and modern history and special issues of memoirs should provide a special column for study and discussion. Whoever has written memoirs should welcome others to complement or correct them and raise questions for discussion, particularly on important issues, so that the work of writing memoirs can be done in a more lively and vigorous manner. The purpose of further study and discussion is to gain a clearer idea of the historical situation and the issues. This should be conducted in a comradely manner; the author is not to be blamed for any mistakes, and still less is he "to receive a blow with the big stick." Some people argue that "no discussion should be set off, because more discussion will bring about more controversy, which will make the writing of history even more difficult." Is this argument sound? It seems that it is not quite true. In the study of modern history, we cannot expect data available from various sources to be of the same caliber and the same type. An individual's memory is limited and onesided, and the combined recollections of many people, plus documentary data, carefully studied and discussed, can clarify issues in a comparatively comprehensive way. A person's memoirs can represent only that person and cannot reach a conclusion on history on behalf of the organization. A writer is asked only to be faithful to the facts which he has been involved in. He cannot be asked to transcend his own personal experience and make up with difficulty a "comprehensive, systematic recollection of the past." If he did so, it would be unreal. In a word, we must respect everyone's true recollections. Only by having in one's hands a large amount of live data from different sources and different perspectives can one have better advantage for conducting historical study and discussion in greater depth and bring one's judgments closer to reality.

5. Put History in a Correct Relationship to Literature

The relationship between history and literature is a question of long standing. In writing memoirs, this question should be understood and dealt with properly.

At present, there are two different views on this question. Some comrades hold that "memoirs" are a literary style and use the forms of literature to write down from memory historical events well known to the writer and his personal experience, and that this bears the nature of literature. "Revolutionary memoirs" are a new type of literary reportage. Other comrades hold that "memoirs" are a new historical style and belong to the realm of historical science. Of course, these two different views may be put to discussion. What is more important, however, is how to correctly handle the relationship between history and literature.

Of course, no hard and fast line can be drawn between literature and history. In ancient China, these two were at first combined into one. Later on, with the development of social production and culture, they were gradually divided and became independent. However, those who specialized in writing history still paid a great deal of attention to literary attainment. As the saying goes, "Writings devoid of literary grace cannot go very far." Only a fine style of verbal expression can make historical works forever popular among future generations--ZUO ZHUAN [BIOGRAPHIES OF ZUO QIUMING] and SHI JI [HISTORICAL RECORDS] being examples. In making historical records today, no matter what

style and type of writing we adopt, it is still necessary to have fine literary accomplishments. In particular, revolutionary memoirs should not only provide historical data but also concurrently serve education in revolutionary traditions. It is also a matter of course that people want them to be written in a more lively and touching style.

However, it will be another thing if we push further the meaning of "literature" from fine speeches and words to literary and artistic works. If we follow the requirements of literary and artistic works, take historical facts as the basis, and are not just permitted but also required to subjectively work out a literary plot, give expression to ideals, portray certain images, employ artistic exaggeration, so on and so forth, then what this becomes is the writing of historical prose, historical novels, and historical plays, and certainly not the writing of historical memoirs. Thus, these works do not possess the "quality of historical documents" and the "value of historical data."

At present, we seem not to be quite sure of this point. To make memoirs more appealing to the readers, some editing and publishing departments have asked the writers to make up lively stories; some writers have more or less used the method of writing literary and artistic works in their descriptions, portrayals, and exaggerations; and some readers also have made such requests. Their desire is plausible, but the problem is that we cannot attend to trifles to the neglect of essentials. Since these works are called historical memoirs, the authors must strive to narrate historical facts accurately and plainly, preserve the worth of their writing as historical documents, and maintain their credibility for truth among the broad masses of readers. Memoirs should be written in a vivid style, but not at the cost of truth. In literary and artistic works, we may make up certain stories which it is impossible for people to know, such as describing the noble feelings of a valiant hero fighting in isolation the moment before he met his death; in writing historical memoirs, however, it is obvious that we cannot make up such a plot.

We say that memoirs should not be written to be literary and artistic works. However, we should advocate the writing of literary and artistic works by taking memoirs as the source. When we have written really good memoirs, a great deal of historical treasures are unearthed, and naturally it will be more advantageous for literary and artistic works to flourish.

6. Mobilize and Get Organized

Generally speaking, the writing of memoirs is a regular and common matter. For instance, an adult may write about his childhood days. We are talking here about a rescue mission, which mainly means: 1. The history of the early times--first, the Agrarian Revolutionary War Period and various periods previous to it, which now only a very few persons know of. 2. Many of our aged comrades have performed leadership work for a long time. When they write their memoirs, they may not confine their writing to the early times, but should also pay attention to the War of Resistance Against Japan and various periods after it.

The number of veteran comrades who have experienced the various periods is limited, and we must make the best use of our time to investigate and to keep

records (especially of those comrades who have a long and rich experience, were involved in important historical events, or went through unusual circumstances), mobilize them to write their memoirs, and start this work in an organized and planned way. These comrades may write memoirs by themselves, others may help them to write, they may write together with others, they may tell the stories while others put them down in writing, or others may call on them for an interview. They may proceed from the remote to the recent (first writing about the history of early periods), and from the important to the trifling (first writing about important events, issues, and disputed cases). We must strive to complete the first segment of our rescue mission essentially within 2 or 3 years.

As our veteran comrades are scattered all over the country and in various departments and organizations, to accomplish this work we must adopt various measures under the unified leadership of local party and government organs, relying on the special departments concerned, and according to different circumstances, so that this work can be carried out faithfully.

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CSO: 4005/258

LI JIAN'S WORKS SAID LACKING MERIT

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Zhao Tiexin [6392 6993 0207]: "Literature Should Give People a Sense of Beauty--Thoughts After Reading Several Novels by Comrade Li Jian [2621 0494]"]

[Text] Literary works should cultivate in people nobility of soul and a wholesome sense of aesthetics, touching the readers with emotions of beauty, and offering them enjoyment and strength so that "they are awakened and moved." That was not the feeling I had after reading some of Comrade Li Jian's novels recently. The ideological tendencies in them are unhealthy and poor in aesthetic taste, with vulgar, far-fetched make-believe and low-class descriptions to an unimaginably intolerable degree. The basic overtones in his works are gloomy, depressing and damaging to social customs and morality, and so unreadable that they "give people a sense of doom, as if all mankind is finished." This can no longer escape our attention.

Let us first take a look at "The Womens' Bridge." This piece describes the story of how 10 middle-aged women were cruelly insulted, criticized and persecuted to death in a village during the cultural revolution. The author has made up his tale as follows: Some leaders of the reactionaries who belonged to the "gang of five black mules" had falsely accused 10 women who fled from Henan to get married and settle down in a village in Hebei of being "traders in human beings," and of having serious political problems. Not only did they persecute their husbands to death, they even organized mass criticism against them in front of all the villagers. "Their colorful sashes were untied for fear that they might run away." "The criticism session began. They stood upright facing east in a straight line in the middle of the bridge, bowed, then bent down at an angle of 90 degrees, facing the severe criticism of the masses." "Ten of the people's militia came behind them, grasping their hair and dragging their heads downward, and nudged between their buttocks with their bent knees." They let the women climb up, "but as soon as they reached the end of the bridge, their pants slid right off," at that time, "the murderous "Five Black Mules" beat their buttocks with the butts of their rifles, branding bright red marks on their tender white skin."...At last, these 10 women jumped off the bridge into the river. The author writes in lament, "the big bridge fell into silence. I was stricken with the feeling that the earth would soon collide with the moon, and that doomsday had come."

Let us take another look at "Lingering Evening Shadows Among The Flowers." This work is a reflection on the unwholesome tendencies of the privileged cadres in leading positions. You Weiwei, a young typist in an electric company, was sick of the group of flatterers around Party Committee secretaries Qin and Xia. She tore down a chicken coop built for Chin in front of her house only to find out later that another chicken coop that belonged to Xia hanging in front of her window. One day, when Weiwei was burning waste paper at the edge of the window, she inadvertently set the chicken coop on fire, therefore greatly offending Mrs Xia and the flatterers who were quick to take their revenge. They first spread the rumor that Weiwei had problems in her life style and caused Weiwei and her lover to break up. Later they transferred her from the typing room to labor in the concrete building materials unit. Insulted by indecent people, beaten and scolded by her parents and teased by people who did not know the truth, she found it impossible to go on living and committed suicide by jumping off a cliff. The whole novel was filled with extremely base descriptions, such as when Weiwei was with her lover Xiaoxi, Xiaoxi's brother came after them yelling, "Xiaoxi! Go back!" and "grabbing him, gave him two slaps on the face, then spit at Weiwei, 'How shameless! I won't cast a look at a hundred of you stripped naked on the street when I drive past!'" When Weiwei was working with the men on the site, some men wanted to take off their long pants because of the heat and were reminded of the presence of the young girl. "Her?!...She couldn't care less...." On her way home from work, Weiwei was stopped by five rascals who abused her with even filthier language. In works such as "Drunken Amidst the Flower Bushes," "Goddess of the Castle" and "Shedding Tears in the East Wind," vulgarity such as the above abounds.

Why has the author taken such pain to make up and exhibit this filthy and horrid stuff? It does not offer the enjoyment of beauty nor can it educate. It only throws dirt in the readers' eyes, contaminates their minds and excites their senses. It has especially adverse influence on young people and disruptive effect on society. How can such work not offend and disgust people? No wonder someone says that these works are not "exhibitionist literature" in general, but real down-to-earth "rogue literature."

Our writers should develop correct motivation and a seriousness of attitude when they write. They should emulate Lu Xun in that "what is eaten is grass, what is squeezed out is milk and blood." Writers should offer refined and nutritious spiritual food to people, so as to nurture in them a noble sensitivity. They should be engineers of the human soul. Do not step over the line like Comrade Li Jian. Life is the source of creation. Only when our writers are in love fervently with life, using its practice as a starting point, can they create realistic, plausible, quality work which in turn can play its proper role. Whoever deviates from life, making up tales at random, or concentrating on describing filthy stuff is a ne'er do-well, and deserves to be teased and despised by everybody. My advice might not be totally acceptable to the author. However, even if what he has described and reflected are not made up but true occurrences, he still should not so casually and naturalistically include them in his writing. Someone once remarked that literature is a reflection of life, reflecting what life is and what life has. Such outlook is extremely superficial, erroneous and uncomprehensive. Literature indeed reflects life, but it is the essence of life, the entirety of life rather than the phenomena of life and its piecemeal, meaningless trivialities. We should not regard whatever exists in life as suitable

material for literature. Lu Xun pointed out this a long time ago, "There are certain people in real life who should not be included in literature. If they are, and faithfully reproduced, then the literary work would be destroyed." (Last article in the collection of "Qiejieting Articles," Banxia Xiaoji.) Hence, during the process of creation, the writer must be very serious-minded and be ready to hold himself responsible to the masses. Whatever is nonexistent in life cannot be made up at random. Even real occurrences have to be selected, screened, reprocessed and refined. We should never forget at all times that "we should be extremely selective in subject matter, just as we should dig deep in digging a well." Obviously, Comrade Li Jian is far from adequate in this respect.

When we advocate that literary works should offer people the enjoyment of beauty, we do not mean that writers should avoid all the contradictions in life, or to unveil its darker sides, or to attack whatever is ugly. Marxist dialectics tells us that the fine and beautiful coexist with the ugly through constant comparison, and both develop through constant conflict with one another. They have never existed in isolation. Comrade Mao Zedong had once said, "There will always be erroneous things and ugly things in existence. Opposites such as the good and the bad, the virtuous and the evil, the beautiful and the ugly will always continue to exist." (Talks at the forum on national propaganda of the CCP.) It is because of this that extolling and unmasking are always interwoven in literature. When we are eulogizing the positive, the progressive and the beautiful, at the same time, we should unmask and strike relentlessly at the negative, the degrading, the decadent and the ugly. A writer's duty is to extol, his privilege to unmask. But our extollment should not be extollment for extollment's sake, and our unmasking should not be for the sake of unmasking. Both are for the sake of digging out worthy things in life so that people derive from them confidence and strength, encouragement and hope, as well as the enjoyment of beauty. Extolling the beautiful in life is for the purpose of arousing people's pursuit and love of beauty; unmasking the ugly in life is for the purpose of arousing people's hatred and to break away from ugliness. Unmasking ugliness is to extol beauty, and the negation of ugliness is the affirmation of beauty. We should, through the conflict of beauty and ugliness, make the beautiful more beautiful and the ugly more ugly. The reason for Li Jian's works being criticized by people is not because what he has revealed about the cultural revolution, but because his exposure has not offered people confidence and strength, much less the enjoyment of beauty. The cultural revolution was an upheaval which brought about great catastrophe and misery to the Chinese people, and it was right to have unmasked it. Yet, we should explore and study in-depth the 10 historical years. Instead of just witnessing the occurrence of ugly events, we should also notice the strength of the masses and occurrences of beauty. Some people might say, "the cultural revolution was a disaster. What's the point of praising it?" In fact there were events worthy of praise, such as the "April Fifth" heroes who persevered in the struggle against the gang of four and the heroic Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 1800]. In "The Womens' Bridge," when the 10 women were facing cruel insults in stark-nakedness, is it believable that not one of the bystanders would have stepped out to stop it, and not one showed any resentment? When the 10 women jumped off the bridge into the river, is it believable that not one of the onlookers would have attempted to rescue them, but remained onlookers? How can the readers enjoy a sense of beauty through exhibition of feminine nudity and ugly

things and the description of the masses as feeble and ignorant weaklings? Instead, people sense from it the omen of "doom," believing that "the final days for mankind are here."

In order to offer the influence and enjoyment of beauty, the writer himself must possess a noble spiritual realm with refined thoughts and emotions. A writer's soul has to be beautiful before his works can be such. It is unimaginable that a writer with a filthy soul, utterly void of ideals would be able to produce good literary work. How well said is the following by Lu Xun: "Only a revolutionist can create revolutionist literature," "What gushes forth from the fountain is water; what gushes forth from the veins is blood." This is indeed the all-inclusive quintessence of literary creation. All literary works are the reflection of social life within a writer's mind, filled with his feelings, displaying his likes and dislikes and carrying his ideals. Despite the same subject matter, persons with different standpoints, thoughts and feelings would create entirely different works. "The Water Margin" and "Defeating the Bandits" are both about the uprising of Liangshan farmers. What the former zealously extols as heroic fighting spirit of the farmers' militia is mercilessly attacked and depreciated by the latter as if total destruction was its only aim. The film "Night Rain at Bashan" and several of Comrade Li Jian's works ("The Women's Bridge," and "Bow in Admiration" in particular) write about the same cultural revolution, but they let people enjoy a sense of beauty and arouse in people the great respect and admiration for the noble personality and refined sentiments as well as the hatred and loathing for Lin Biao and the gang of four, foretelling their inevitable fate. Yet Comrade Li Jian's several works have not "elevated peoples' souls, making them more noble," (quoted from Belinsky), and they have not generated in people through grief and wrath the strength to fight back.

Comrade Li Jian is still young and has considerable creative potential. I hope that he will review in earnestness his own ideology and works according to the spirit of the Central Committee's Forum on Questions on the Ideological Front, and that he will sum up conscientiously experiences and lessons, strive hard to grasp the dialectical materialism of Marxism, and establish a noble soul and a healthy aesthetic sense, and step by step get on the correct road of creative writing, producing good works for the masses. It would be very helpful for Comrade Li Jian to review Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech in the Forum on Screenplay Writing. Comrade Hu said, "In life some things are noble and fine." "We authors should dig out the noble and the fine, praise them and eulogize them, so that more and more people are moved to learn from them and study them."

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YOUNG WRITERS CAUTIONED ON IMITATING FOREIGN WORKS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Oct 81 p 4

[Article by Lin Shi [2651 6684]]

[Text] On the northern outskirts of the city of Han Dan, there is an arched stone bridge across the Qin River named Xuebuqiao [Learn-How-to-Walk Bridge]. According to legend, there was a young man from Shouling who travelled thousands of miles to Han Dan to learn how to walk because he heard that dwellers in Han Dan had a graceful gait. It turned out that not only did he not learn their grace, he even lost his original style of walking, so finally he had to crawl back home.

After listening to this story, I am reminded of our present young men who are learning the first steps of writing. Every novice in literary circles is bound to be confronted with the problem of taking his first steps. Some have already learned a strong and graceful gait and are striding forward with firm steps; some, though still staggering with great strain, have nevertheless demonstrated the potential and the sure signs of big strides forward in the future. However, there are still some who are like the young man of Shouling: on the one hand not able to learn the new gait, and on the other hand having already forgotten the original, and who have no choice but to crawl. One example is the so-called "stream of consciousness," "the school of obscurity," and "hit songs," etc. There are some fairly good folk song singers who have suddenly taken to humming foreign tunes in foreign accents, resulting in having no style at all; some writers who were once authors of rural life, who had mastered the language idiomatically, and whose works abound in rural simplicity and lovable characters, suddenly turn to making up far-fetched and unrealistic life and people. Furthermore, they even use a language with foreign grammatical structure that is not a translation, yet somewhat resembling translation, halting and stuttering, lacking in fluency and precision. How like the young man of Shouling! While failing to master the new gait they have abandoned their original way of walking. These contemporary "young men of Shouling" indeed deserve our pity, anger, grief and caution!

These new "Young Men of Shouling" worry us, but what worries us more is that certain young men are unaware that this path leads nowhere, and continue treating it as a sure way to success. A lot of literary novices, instead of reading our own Chinese literary works, just keep picking up garbage long abandoned by the foreign countries themselves. As soon as they take up writing, they forget that

they are Chinese, thus giving up the Chinese language and copying the foreign language they do not really understand.

Every race has its own language and literature, and every race has to produce its own literary gems in order to contribute to the treasurehouse of world literature. Arbitrarily following the works of other races can never create gems of real worth.

Of course, developing one's own literature and art does not mean rejecting the assimilation of nutrients from other races and other countries, because our own literature and art are further enriched through cultural exchanges and mutual learning. However, learning does not mean mere copying, nor does it mean replacing our own literary art with foreign art. The ancient "young man of Shouling" is a good example. He was not wrong in trying to learn the graceful gait of Han Dan; but he was wrong in having abandoned completely his original style of walking. Instead of assimilating substantial good experiences of other people and create his own style to enrich himself, he had only arbitrarily adopted the outside shell, resulting only in the pitiable end of having to crawl back.

This lesson is derived metaphorically through the story of Xuebuqiao. Such a bridge and such a story are still beneficial to later generations. I have one advice for the comrades who have abandoned the rural life and language they are so familiar with, and contrive unsuccessfully to learn from what is superficial in others, and have regrettably stopped their efforts to write for the rural people: come back to cultivate our own gardens, come back to our own race, ancestry and our masses, learn and master our literary heritage, assimilate the fine nutrition, blending it with fine foreign qualities, and strive to reflect the limitless and many-faceted life of our brave new world. Let us create a new superior literature of our race and make new contributions to the four modernizations, to socialism, to the good of all people as well as to the treasurehouse of world literature!

Xuebuqiao is a good lesson!

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PACE OF ANTILIBERALIZATION MOVEMENT SLACKENS

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, 1 Nov 81 pp 11-12

[Article by Ying Tzu [3853 1311]: "The Wind Against the 'Liberalization' Movement Weakens"]

[Text] The nippy autumn wind has turned the maple leaves red in the western suburb of Beijing. However, the chill wind against "liberalization" has shown clear signs of weakening and an inability to stem the "liberalization" movement in Beijing.

Hospitalization of Zhou Yang [0719 2254]

The movement against "liberalization" is primarily directed at literary circles. However, Zhou Yang, a leading litterateur, has recently been hospitalized. While some people maintain that he was hospitalized because he was sick, others claim that his sickness was of a mental origin and the result of his being made the object of criticism. Still others believe that he hospitalized himself in order to avoid assuming the role of leader in the antiliberalization movement. Because of his position as leader in literary circles, it seems obvious that he should also assume the role of "leader" in the extensive "antiliberalization" movement. Since the establishment of the People's Republic of China, he has assumed the role of "leader" in a number of criticism campaigns and has laid low a large number of people who came under his attack. During the "Great Cultural Revolution," he himself was attacked and brought to heel. There is reason to believe that he sought refuge in the hospital in order to avoid being castigated a second time as a hatchet man.

Thus, the leadership of the present "antiliberalization" movement against literary circles has fallen on the shoulders of acting Minister Zhou Weizhi [0719 1550 1492]. Document No 30, which criticized the leadership of the Ministry of Culture for "disorganization and weakness," ordered that the ministry submit a written explanation. Zhou Weizhi had no choice but to call an emergency discussion meeting of certain workers in literary circles in Beijing and to make out a list of errors which surfaced during the "discussion" for the Standing Committee of the People's Congress.

The powers that be in the Chinese Communist Party are furious over the "disorganization and weakness" which has crept into the "antiliberalization" movement. Both

Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang are determined to put an end to the "liberalization" trend in general and that among literary circles in particular. They consider that Bai Hua [4101 2901] was not subjected to criticism earlier because an opportunity to pounce on him did not exist; that when it became obvious that he should be subjected to criticism, not a single decent article was written that would serve the purpose; and that now is the time to launch an attack in earnest. They expressed the view that, although Bai Hua had received many letters of support, the writers of those letters were either stupid or vicious characters and that they had no cause to gloat with self-satisfaction.

LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE Article and Feng Mu's [7458 3668] Sickness

Since Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang bemoaned "the lack of a decent article," literary circles have been awaiting the appearance of such an article.

The heavy responsibility for penning this article fell on the shoulders of the two Tangs [0781], assistant editors of the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE (Tang Yin [0781 0936] and Tang Dacheng [0781 6671 2052]).

Following a period of rumors and after many changes had been made in the manuscript, the article ("On the Mistaken Trend of 'Unrequited Love'") was finally published. The reaction, however, was not favorable. It was generally considered that the article was short on logic and less than persuasive. On certain points, the article parroted the same views which had been expressed in an earlier article by a "special commentator" in the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY. It was at this juncture that Feng Mu, editor-in-chief of the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE, was taken "ill." It has been said that this was an evasive ploy on his part. This is something which merits attention.

Attitude of Bai Hua

What was the reaction of Bai Hua, the cynosure of all eyes, to being criticized once again?

Nobody has read Bai Hua's criticism of the criticism directed against him or even his article criticizing "liberalization." He only wrote the poem, "A Song for My Mother," in June in Wuhan in memory of Song Qingling and it was published in the CHANG JIANG literary magazine in August.

After the article criticizing "Unrequited Love" appeared in the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE, Bai Hua allowed that the criticism in that magazine had a better attitude than the article written by a "special commentator" in the LIBERATION ARMY DAILY. While admitting that "Unrequited Love" was not without its shortcomings, he could not bring himself to accept the view expressed by the LITERATURE AND ART GAZETTE.

It appears that the criticism of "Unrequited Love" calls for a serious, in-depth analysis. It is thought that Bai Hua himself must have his own views.

People With Definite Opinions

Naturally, there are those in Beijing who take a strong stand against "liberalization." For example, a certain bigwig of a certain organ who had taken an extremely positive stand in support of the "two whatevers" took an equally positive stand in this instance. He instructed his "subordinates" to come up with some articles on "foreigners who are involved in illegal underground publications" and to "let it be known that those who lend their support to the liberalization movement in China are not all that honest, and that some of them are in fact in collusion with foreigners."

A certain bigwig of the Democratic Party also took a rather positive stand and evinced a desire to take the lead in getting something going. The secretary of that rather insignificant party dissuaded him from making the attempt by saying: "We had better not take the lead this time around."

Among the ordinary people, there is strong opposition to attacks on "Unrequited Love" and "liberalization."

Lukewarm Attitude of Masses

Among the people in Beijing, the rumor is going the rounds that "Peng Ning [1756 1380], coauthor of 'Unrequited Love,' made it known that the filming of 'Unrequited Love' had the blessings of a veteran cadre!" Why, then, has it met with disapproval at this time? Peng Ning's father, Peng Jialun [1756 0657 0243], was a comrade-in-arms of some veteran cadres in the Yanan era. Peng Ning himself has on occasion visited some veteran cadres in their homes. It seems obvious that the rumor that the filming of "Unrequited Love" had the approval of a veteran cadre was not woven out of whole cloth.

In such circumstances, the masses showed a perfunctory attitude with respect to Document No 30 and used their new "liberalization" to boycott the criticism of "liberalization." At a number of study and discussion meetings held by certain units, nobody offered to express an opinion and the conveners had to tell the participants to go home "to study by themselves."

More interesting is the fact that the people in Beijing have come up with many wisecracks. For example, somebody said: "We have no idea what is meant by the freedom movement. All we know is that commodity prices are free to go up, that high officials are free to go in the back door, that veteran cadres are free to take advantage of their special privileges and that we the people are free to endure hardships. It is these freedoms that call for criticism and opposition."

Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian Give Up Their Villas

Feelings are strong among the masses against cadres taking advantage of their special privileges, something which is not lost on the communist powers that be. To avoid being attacked, some personages have given up their villas voluntarily. For example, Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian have given up their villas at Beidaihe so they can be used to accommodate tourists. Some tourists from Hong Kong and

Macao have availed themselves of the facilities. Deng and Li have earned favorable comment from the masses, although they are not without detractors.

Ye Wenfu [5509 2428 4395] and Bai are the only people mentioned by name in the antiliberalization campaign. Although it was said that as many as 10 would be implicated, nothing further has so far been heard.

It seems that the onslaught against literary circles in the antiliberalization campaign has run out of steam.

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